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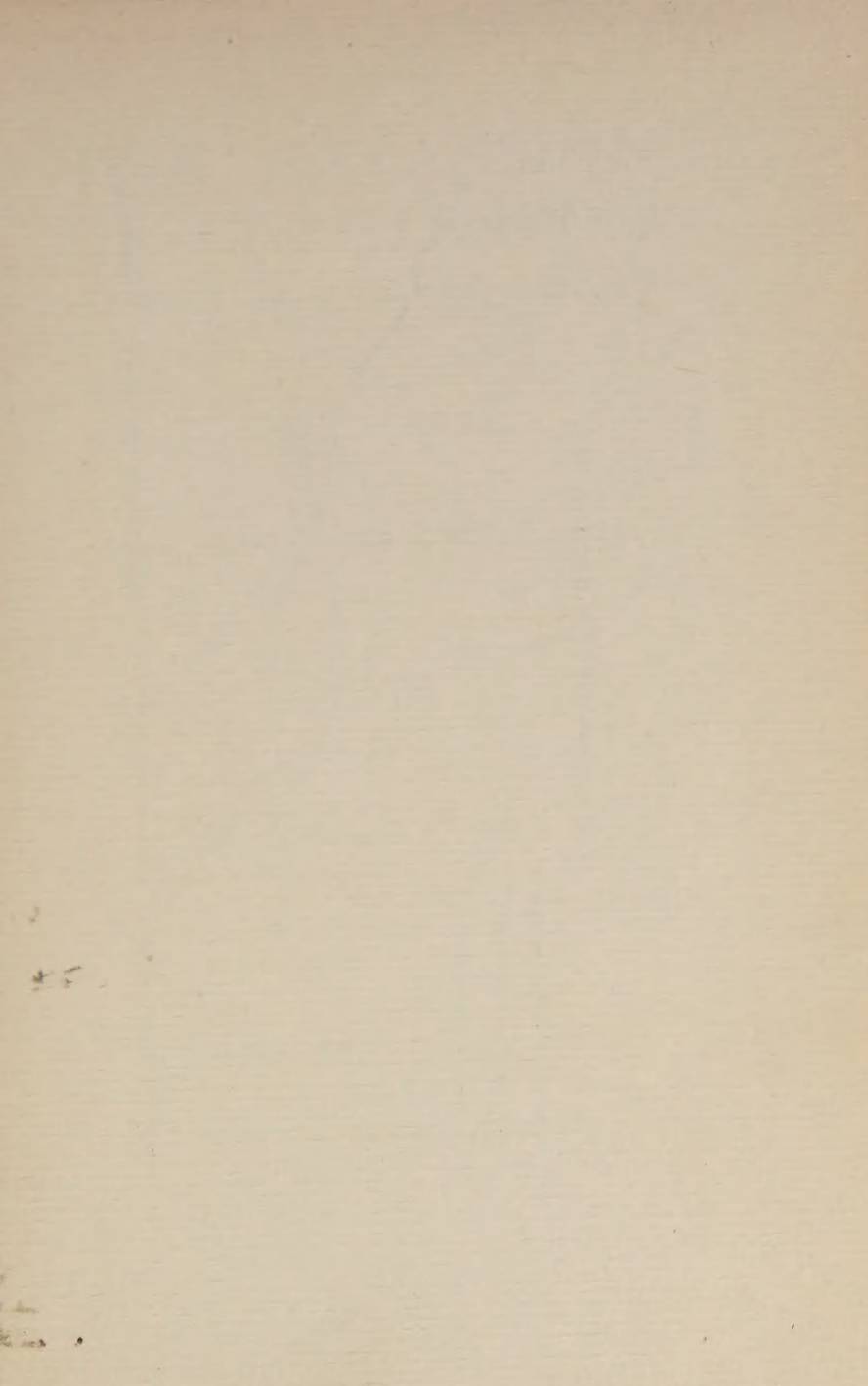
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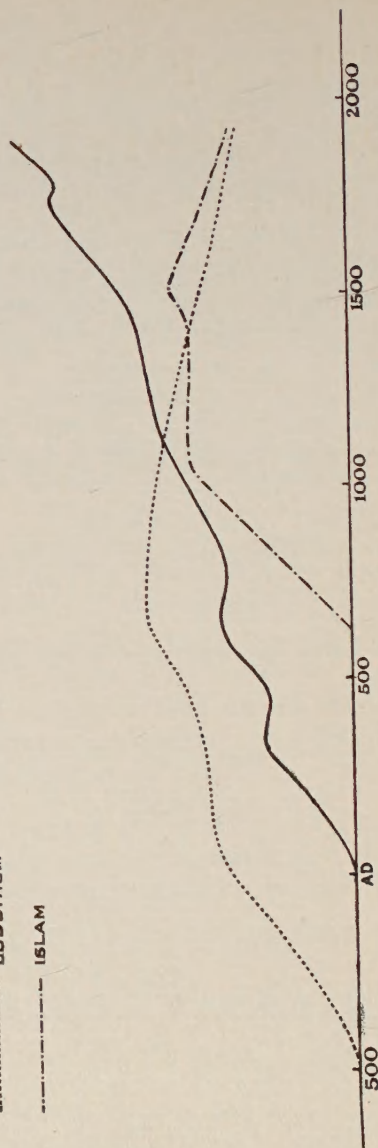


THE CONFLICT OF CREEDS

— CHRISTIANITY

..... BUDDHISM

- - - ISLAM



THE EXPANSION
OF CHRISTENDOM

A STUDY IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BY

MRS. ASHLEY CARUS-WILSON, B.A.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON

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P R E F A C E

FOR over twenty years the title and general idea of this volume have been in the writer's mind, and its subject-matter has provided themes for many addresses and courses of lectures.

It is neither a text-book of missionary information for students, nor a general exhortation to those who constantly read religious books, enjoy missionary meetings, and subscribe regularly to societies for evangelising the world. It appeals rather to the intelligent church-goer who regards Christian missions as uninteresting and unimportant and gives casual aid and yet more casual thought to them.

Dealing with a subject that should concern all Christendom, and emphasise the points of agreement rather than of divergence between different communions, it sets aside as irrelevant most ecclesiastical and many doctrinal questions, but indicates how preachers of the Gospel abroad rise above the petty distrusts and suspicions between Christian and Christian at home. "Is your conception of Chris-

tian truth the same as mine ? ” seems suddenly insignificant when one is confronted with, “ Art thou for us or for our adversaries ? ”

Numbers are mostly given in round figures generalised from good authorities ; for, in many cases, precise statistics do not exist. Even when they do they are always changing ; so that, for broad comparative treatment, approximate figures are preferable. These do not involve wearisome digressions, and are not likely to be mistaken for exact information. Biblical quotations are made throughout from the Revised Version.

I have to thank Dr. Eugene Stock for his kindness in going through the proofs ; and to acknowledge deep debt to books by many authors, and even deeper debt to personal intercourse with many missionaries.

MARY L. G. CARUS-WILSON.

HANOVER LODGE,
KENSINGTON PARK,
LONDON, W.

ARGUMENT

PART I. considers apologetically the Case for Missions : *Ecclesiæ Finis*, the purpose for which the Church was founded, what it was intended to do. Appealing to the divine message to men contained in Holy Scripture, looking to the future, and arguing for believers, it deals with motives and principles ; meets the objection “ Missions are a Mistake,” and leads up to the conclusion—It MUST be done. Whatever the results of Missions hitherto have been, they must be carried on if Christ is the Son of God and the only Saviour of the world.

Here we survey six motives for undertaking Missions ; noting which of these have been, and which are to-day, the strongest ; the limitations of some, the permanent force of others, the ultimate warrant for Missions, to the Christian. Can a convincing case for them be made out to the man of the world ?

Part II. considers historically the Course of Missions : *Ecclesiæ Acta*, the outcome hitherto of the Church being founded, what it has actually done. Appealing to the divine message to men discernible in the providential ordering of the world, looking

to the past, and arguing for all thoughtful persons, it deals with methods and facts; meets the objection "Missions are a Failure," and leads up to the conclusion—It CAN be done. The results of Missions, so far, have been so remarkable that Christ must be the Son of God and the only Saviour of the world.

Here we survey the story of mankind, showing how the ancient idea of each nation having its own religion has given place to the idea of international religions; how three such religions have arisen, and how one, and one only, of them promises to become universal. We trace out the three great missionary tasks set before Christianity in its three successive phases; and the close connexion there has always been between political conditions and missionary enterprise. The unprecedented unification of the world which prepared the way for the first preaching of the Gospel is reproduced on a larger scale in this, the greatest missionary age of the world.

Part III. considers practically the Crisis of Missions: *Ecclesiæ Agenda*, the programme before the Church now, what it may hope to do henceforth. Appealing to the conscience of the individual, and looking to the present, it deals with opportunities and responsibilities, and leads up to the conclusion—It SHALL be done.

Here we survey the world's opportunity in relation to our own responsibility ; contrasting the condition of the Pagan and the Oriental fields ; estimating the forces arrayed against the Faith ; asking whether missionaries should aim at the conversion of individuals or at the Christianising of nations ; looking at problems rising out of the indirect influences of Christianity abroad and the reflex influences of foreign missions at home ; passing on to the four different ways in which Christians at home can and should take part in the work abroad. Finally we show that its prospects are " as bright as the promises of God."

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PART I

THE CASE FOR MISSIONS

(*ECCLESIAE FINIS*)

PART I

THE CASE FOR MISSIONS
(*ECCLESIAE FINIS*)

“The whole earth is the Lord’s :
Men’s souls are His :
I am debtor to all.”

COUNT VON ZINZENDORF.

GONE never to return are the days when Christian endeavour to evangelise could be set aside as a fad, and knowledge of Missions relegated to the subordinate place of an “extra” in the curriculum put before Christ’s disciples. None whom study of the past has equipped with insight into the present, and foresight into the future, can fail to perceive that the most vital and inevitable problems of the day are neither political nor economical, but spiritual. For man does not live by bread alone ; what individuals or nations believe as to things unseen matters more in determining what they become, or what they do, than how they are governed or how they gain a living. “The idea of God,” says Hegel, in his *Philosophy of History*, “constitutes the general foundation of a people ; the form of its state and constitution springs from its religion.” If this is so, the assertion that it does

not matter what a man believes ignores the facts of human history and of human nature : "as he thinketh in his heart, so is he."

The man of the world may still declare that Christian Missions are a *mistake*, and that they are *unsuccessful* ; but he can no longer dismiss the subject by telling once again a tale, probably apocryphal, of some blundering missionary or some rascally native Christian ; for missionary effort has become conspicuous enough to be reckoned with, missionary questions stand foremost among the questions of the day. He may hate Missions heartily because they put his own ideals to shame, or hinder his plans in some region where, but for them, there would be no Ten Commandments ; he may dislike them vaguely, being naturally impatient of what is inexplicable ; he may praise and patronise them, though he still fumbles for a definite answer to the question, What are these missionaries trying to do, and why are they trying to do it ? But he can no longer affect to despise them.

And, after all, his hostility or half-comprehending friendliness are much less surprising than the profound and unabashed ignorance of the aims and achievements of the Church Militant, of missionary principles and of missionary facts, which countless church-going people display. Two true incidents may illustrate it on its geographical and simplest side. The mother of a clergyman asked the Bishop of Uganda, after he had spoken at length about his diocese, if it is very hot in that part of India. The Bishop of Melanesia was

introduced thus by his chairman, a local magnate, "I cannot tell you exactly where Melanesia is, but I know it is somewhere in Central Africa." On this ignorance inevitably follows readiness to accept without investigation the off-hand statements of the latest irresponsible globe-trotter who thinks himself acute and original for running down missionaries.

What the missionary is trying to do will occupy us later on ; here we consider why he is trying to do it. For as he is too busy carrying out his work to undertake its vindication, his supporters at home must strive to form public opinion, to turn what is at present a minority of missionary-hearted Christians into a majority.

We begin, then, with the critic who regards Missions as a *mistake*, impugning their *principle* ; and endeavour to set forth the motives which moved the Apostles of old, which move their successors now. Old motives lose some of their force for this generation, while new motives emerge as "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns." But the force of the supreme motive justifying Missions, to the Church if not to the world, is continually strengthening and deepening.

There is always a careless and more or less godless public who enjoy that cheap disparagement of the missionary which assumes that he is a meddlesome fanatic, well-meaning but ignorant and intolerant, who, from sheer arrogance of national superiority, or crass incapacity to enter into ideas other than his own, "tampers with foreign creeds," trying to

thrust his Western notions upon Easterns who have notions of their own which may be as good as his, and which they prefer, and will continue to prefer. A very little knowledge of missionaries and of their work, a very little consideration of the history and claims of Christianity, show that such motives as these exist only in the critic's imagination ; so they need not detain us, and we will at once pass to six actual motives. Three of them operated strongly in the past, a fourth is the paramount motive at present, and two others promise to become the leading motives of the future.

CHAPTER I

THE PHILANTHROPIC MOTIVE

PITY FOR THE SUFFERING HEATHEN

“Having promise of the life which now is.”—ST. PAUL.

So striking a case can be made out for Missions from this motive of pity for the suffering heathen, and upon it so far-reaching an appeal can be based, that there is a strong tendency now to put it before the general public to the exclusion of all other motives, as consonant to the spirit of an age which desires to see Wisdom justified by her works. The evidence that existing conditions in non-Christian lands, both savage and civilised, cry out for reform is indisputable. Dr. L'Estrange, a medical missionary whose former practice in the London Hospital had shown him the worst of the East End, says deliberately that its condition is superior to that of the average Indian village; that the need at home is not to be compared to the need abroad. Mrs. Bishop, who started on her famous travels indifferent to if not actually prejudiced against Missions, became so convinced that the deepest misery and iniquity in Christendom falls far short of the misery and iniquity of Heathendom that she gave the whole energy of her later years to untiring and

effectual advocacy of the missionary cause. We have to quit the home atmosphere, created by centuries of organised Christianity, if we would understand the statement that Christ is the Saviour of the body ; outside Christendom, the dull apathy deepening into decrepitude, the hopeless weariness of life and shrinking from death, the hideous wrong, the heartrending cruelty, the nameless abominations, will compel assent to Lord Macaulay's dictum that " whoever does anything to depreciate Christianity is guilty of high treason against the civilisation of mankind."

" Whene'er I take my walks abroad,
How many poor I see !

How glad the heathens would have been,
That worshipped idols, wood and stone,
If they the Book of God had seen
Or Jesus and His Gospel known ! "

An earlier generation, who learned these " Songs Divine and Moral " of Dr. Isaac Watts, were led on to no higher thought than self-complacent thankfulness that—

" I have food while others starve,
Or beg from door to door."

And that—

" I was born of Christian race,
And not a heathen or a Jew."

To-day it is matter of course that even the youngest of cared-for children should do something for destitute childhood. " The spirit of service is

awake " (so the Lambeth Conference of 1908 finely phrased it), and we cannot, while responding to urgent need at home, turn a deaf ear to far more urgent need abroad.

"The missionary is in practice what the man of liberal philosophy is in sentiment," said Dr. Thomas Chalmers when preaching, nearly a hundred years ago, for the Scottish Missionary Society. He has indeed been a builder of schools and hospitals, an organiser of industry, a promoter of settled civilisation. Through his endeavours cannibalism, formerly prevalent throughout Australasia, is almost extinct there. "It soon sneaks out at the back door when Christianity has entered at the front," says Dr. Macfarlane. Human sacrifice, once common in Africa and India, can only be offered rarely and by stealth. Something like law and order replaces the incessant tribal fights bound up with both practices, which kept neighbouring villages in such a condition of panic-stricken solitude that one hears of three in East Africa within thirty miles that can no longer understand each other's speech ; and of others in New Guinea as isolated as if each were in mid-ocean. For the first time in Chinese history lepers, formerly cast out to perish by men abounding in benevolent maxims, are gathered into hospitals ; and in many a land the sick no longer suffer, as demon-possessed, active cruelty in addition to utter neglect. Mainly through missionary influence also, Sati was abolished in India eighty years ago, and a strong public opinion is now being formed against the outrage

of child-marriage, and perpetual widowhood of those who have never been wives, so that tender little Indian girls shall no longer have to endure what mature Englishwomen cannot even bear to hear of. Japan has abolished, and China is about to abolish, trial by torture. On March 31st, 1893, as the result of sixteen years' patient Christian teaching, the forty great chiefs of Uganda, on their own initiative, signed a declaration "untying and freeing completely all their slaves"; and slave-raiding in Africa generally is well-nigh at an end.

From heathendom, picturesque and even light-hearted as it is on the surface, a sorrowful cry goes up, entering into the ears of many who can understand healing disease: teaching a boy to read; manumitting a slave; delivering a girl from the sharp pain of foot-binding in China, from the sharper infamy of "marriage to a god" in India,—who own that the brown and the black Lazarus at the gates of our Empire have a claim on our compassion, if not such a compelling claim as the white Lazarus at the gates of our own house. In this spirit Charles Darwin subscribed regularly to the work of the South American Missionary Society in Terra del Fuego; and Anglo-Indians give £1,000 a year to the C.M.S. Hospital at Srinagar.

The humanitarian motive, which was the main one with those who inaugurated modern missions (as we see from the missionary sermons of a hundred years ago), gives place to other motives in the pulpit to-day; but towards it the trend of current thought curves sharply. It resembles argument for the

Bible drawn from its incomparable charm as literature and its confessed moral power ; argument for Sunday observance drawn from the obvious physical and intellectual value of one day's rest in seven. Such arguments from secondary characteristics and results suggest, however, that the disputant has not the courage of his whole conviction, and they are two-edged. For one outcome of Christian compassion for suffering heathen in India has been compassion stirred up among non-Christians ; and now a growing number of orphanages, schools, colleges, and hospitals, emulating missionary enterprise there, appeal to the general public on the ground that " they do not proselytise."

Any one who is fully convinced that the law of Christ provides not only one solution, but *the* solution, for all our perplexed social and moral problems both at home and abroad, will regard the missionary's work in redressing wrongs, reforming abuses, relieving suffering, and enlightening ignorance as being a means to an end yet greater than the means, like our Lord's own works of mercy. It is a necessary and blessed means, whose whole value we learn but slowly to appreciate. It is integral in one sense to missionary enterprise, but only incidental to it in another. " If the gospel of Christ is true, these incidental advantages which follow the triumph of the Christian faith are petty and insignificant when compared with the infinite blessings which Christ has brought within the reach of mankind." ¹

¹ Dr. R. W. Dale, *Lectures on Ephesians*, xiii. p. 240.

CHAPTER II

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIVE

PITY FOR THE PERISHING HEATHEN

“The wrath to come.”—ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

CONTRASTED with the kind-hearted man of the world who subsidises the Church Army or Salvation Army at home, or the mission hospital abroad, stands the old-fashioned Christian, somewhat distrustful of the appeal which makes much of delivering from bonds and death, of binding broken limbs, of educating and humanising, of developing industry, and of demolishing Eastern superstition by Western science. What matters present pain or unlettered rudeness compared with future perdition?

We cannot here discuss the grim eschatology which, from the intolerant later Jewish literature, passed into mediaeval and post-Reformation Christian dogma, declaring that mere ignorance of the world's Saviour leaves all unbaptized heathens outside the pale of His salvation; or debate about the future condition of non-Christians as did the Eclectic Society in the earliest days of modern missions; we only record the effects of believing that all heathen will be condemned as such.

"Where are my dead forefathers at present?" asked Radbod, chief of the Frisians, of Bishop Willibrod, who was about to baptize him 1200 years ago. "In hell, with all other unbelievers," was the uncompromising answer. Whereupon Radbod refused to be baptized, preferring to join his own people, wherever they might be. "How many more days must I wait for baptism?" said one who had been for two months under instruction from French priests in Uganda in 1880: "I tremble in every limb when I lie down at night in the thought that death may surprise me and cast my soul into eternal fire." "I was much burdened with a consciousness of blood-guiltiness. How dreadful the reflection that any should perish who might have been saved by my exertions!" So wrote in his diary Henry Martyn, called by Sir James Stephen "the most heroic character that adorns the annals of the English Church from the days of Elizabeth to those of Victoria." "He considered," says his biographer, John Sargent, "the pitiable and perilous condition of the heathen; he thought on the value of their immortal souls."

We must not forget that the men who were impelled to wide missionary enterprise by desire to snatch at least some souls from the inevitable doom of the multitude did much also to mitigate the misery of the heathen in this world, whether they were Benedictine monks teaching our savage ancestors industry, or eighteenth-century Evangelicals rousing the nation to put an end to the slave-trade. But their argument for missions is,

like the philanthropic one, two-edged : it can be met by denying its premiss ; and it is very seldom found in missionary addresses and missionary books to-day. The only Biblical warrant for it is a mis-translation of Mark xvi. 16, corrected in the Revised Version. Most Christians now would echo the words of Alexander Mackay of Uganda : "That God is love seems to me the essence of our creed ; and I ever like to speak to man of God as being such," would hold it a denial of His love to doubt that the millions of children drowned in Ganges, sacrificed to Moloch and his modern equivalents, done to death because they were twins or females, perishing through less deliberate violence or neglect, have been "embraced in the arms of Christ's mercy" ; would say, with William Cowper, of all who have lived up to the light they had :

"Ten thousand sages lost in endless woe
For ignorance of what they could not know !
That speech betrays at once a bigot's tongue :
Charge not a God with such outrageous wrong."

Whether we deplore or rejoice over the obsolescence of the older view, we must note that its obsolescence coincides with missionary zeal and effort, not weakened but immensely strengthened ; and in striking contrast to the bygone incident of Radbod comes a story told to-day by Archdeacon Sharpe, of Sarawak. The wife of a former witch-doctor, who is now an earnest catechist, was about to be baptized, but drew back. "Two daughters

of mine died before they heard of Christ. Shall I lose my hope of meeting them again if I become a Christian ? ” And when she was told she might trust them to the love of God, she joyfully made her Christian profession, and dared to ask if she might set up a cross on their graves.

CHAPTER III

THE THEOLOGICAL MOTIVE

PITY FOR THE DELUDED HEATHEN

“Where Satan’s throne is.”—*Epistle to Pergamum*.

“OH the pleasure of meditating on the wonder of the Son of God becoming man to save men from Lubare!” exclaimed Yokana Mwira, chieftain of Muwomya in Budu, after his baptism in 1883, suggesting, as the motive for evangelising the heathen, not his temporal gain in this life or his eternal gain in the life to come, but his deliverance from the deadly error of worshipping evil spirits. In past days information about other religions came to us from those who saw them as practised by the rude multitude, and such large use was made on missionary platforms and in missionary literature of comparison between what is worst in other religions with what is best in ours, that to the less thoughtful the case for missions appeared to rest upon picturing heathenism in the blackest hues, as wholly of the devil. The only difficulty in so picturing it is that the worst cannot be plainly told publicly or in books that are to lie unrebuked in Christian homes; for popular heathenism is not less vile now than it was when St. Paul wrote a description of it which (so

a Hindu has been heard to declare) must have been added to the Bible by some Englishman acquainted with India. Heathenism has always taught men to fear the devil rather than to love God ; it has almost always sanctioned, and even enjoined, immoralities and brutalities that the religion of the One True God has always sternly repudiated ; and while we search in vain for any non-Christian religion that has improved as it has grown older, we see evidence of the accumulated depravity of Paganism, and trace the deepening, scarcely interrupted degeneracy of Hinduism and Buddhism throughout their long histories.

But it is a perilous mistake to regard unmitigated evil of heathenism as the main warrant for Missions. The man who goes abroad with an open mind soon discovers that heathenism has a better side, that it lives by virtue of the measure of truth it contains ; that while Christians are often far worse than their good religion, non-Christians—so persistent is the divine image—are often far better than their bad religions. As he comes to know them he perceives that some “slaves of Allah ” compare favourably with some “sons of the Father in Heaven ” ; that some votaries of the unholy Krishna put to shame some who name the Name of the Holy Christ ; that, after all, “even the Papuans are better than their reputation would make them.” His new surroundings are often fatal to missionary zeal based only upon notions of the unredeemed wickedness of the heathen.

Moreover, study of Comparative Religion has a

widely felt fascination for our age ; it is popular enough to be chattered about by sciolists who are never likely to assimilate its first principles, but who utter perverse, indiscriminate panegyrics on Buddhism and Mohammedanism when their whole information comes from Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* and Thomas Carlyle's Lecture on *The Hero as Prophet*. And in the seclusion of their studies, real scholars are working at the ancient sacred books of the great ethnic religions, are charmed with the noble moral sentiments of the *Dhamma-pada* ; with the subtle philosophy of the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* ; with the lofty poetry of the *Vedas*. They see idealised systems remote both in time and space, often far removed also from the practical working of the cults which profess to venerate these books to-day. In all good faith, they give us what they believe to be typical facts and representative quotations, and a violent reaction from the old unsparing condemnation of heathen religions, based on facts selected from the lives and worships of their least worthy votaries, is the result ; for one knows that biassed selection of facts can mislead further than even inaccurate generalisation.

All who study Comparative Religion widely recognise how valuable are the contributions to it of contemporary missionaries well acquainted both with what the founders taught and with what is inculcated and believed and practised to-day ; and, while their view of the ethnic religions is less favourable on the whole than that of untravelled scholars, they are quite as ready

to acknowledge "broken lights" of truth, and deep yearnings after goodness; and to insist that, for purposes of comparison with Christianity, these religions should be taken at their best, not at their worst. For our Faith has everything to gain by being set fairly side by side with them; in fact, the finest possible demonstration of its unique excellence is study of Comparative Religion. As Prof. James Denney says, this science "has taught us to recognise the soul's search for God, and God's testimony to the soul, in unexpected places; but, in spite of its name, it cannot teach a Christian that there is anything to compare with Christ, much less any equivalent for Him. All the spiritual light in the world only serves to reveal Him; it does not enable men to dispense with Him, but to appreciate Him."

Nevertheless, when discussion of Missions drifts into argument as to the relative merits of different religions, it loses sight of the real question at issue. Would you insist upon showing your friend that he was a pauper before you announced that a great fortune was waiting to be claimed by him? If heathenism were, always and everywhere, as good as it has ever been anywhere, it would still be the duty of Christians to preach the Gospel, to take to non-Christians "words whereby they shall be saved." St. Peter took such words to Cornelius, a man already acceptable to God, as a proselyte to the pure though not perfect creed of the Jew, which undoubtedly represented fuller truth than any ethnic religion now existing.

These three motives of pity for the suffering, perishing, and deluded heathen have in common the humanitarian impulse of concern for our fellow-men. While all are strong, not one is quite convincing. The man of the world never took account of dogmas as to the heathen's doom ; he still says that the missionary's work would be wholly praiseworthy if he would refrain from "proselytising" ; he still holds that there is some truth in all religions and the whole truth in none, and challenges us to find barbarism in Japanese Buddhism, or immoral rites in Parsiism.

Nor are these motives irresistible for the Christian or even for the missionary. Love for his fellow-men may take him into the field ; it will hardly keep him there. "He told me that at one time he had an almost uncontrollable aversion to black people," says the Rev. R. P. Ashe of Mackay of Uganda, afterwards conspicuous even among missionaries for his wonderful love of his dusky flock. And John G. Paton, whose half-century of devoted labour in the South Seas is as famous as any modern missionary story, candidly chronicles that his first impressions drove him to the verge of utter dismay. "Had I given up my much-beloved work and my dear people in Glasgow to consecrate my life to these degraded creatures ?" In answer to the question, Do you find such and such a people interesting, responsive, satisfactory ? the missionary, if he bare his heart, can only answer, It is not what they are, but what Christ is that pledges me joyfully to the work.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOYAL MOTIVE

OBEDIENCE TO THE LORD'S COMMAND

“He charged us to preach.”—ST. PETER.

THE motive of obedience to Christ is so familiar to our generation that it is hard to believe that it was quite in abeyance once. With all the detailed emphasis of a fivefold New Testament narrative, with all the sacredness of His last injunction, with all the force of a threefold repetition, at the three most important manifestations of Himself after His Resurrection from the dead—in the upper room in Jerusalem, on the Galilean mountain where over five hundred met Him by solemn appointment, and at His Ascension from Olivet—the command of our Master to preach the Gospel to every creature comes to us, as “the marching orders” of the Church. It is as explicit a command as any of the Ten given through Moses, or as the mandate constantly and universally obeyed all down the nineteen Christian centuries, “This do in remembrance of Me”; and nothing can be more integral to the Christian life than rendering to it unquestioning obedience. Our religion is not

an opinion, but a loyalty. "The first duty of a Christian is to make another Christian ; the first duty of a Christian Church is to make other Christian Churches, till the whole world is filled with them " (Archbishop Benson).

No one ever expressed this motive more grandly than Alexander Duff, greatest of Scottish missionaries, in that memorable speech before the Assembly of the Free Church in 1850, when he illustrated it by the romantic, uncalculating, self-sacrificing devotion his compatriots showed to the unpopular cause of the exiled House of Stewart—a devotion wholly incomprehensible to the average Englishman, probably comprehensible to a Japanese, and certainly bound up with some of the finest qualities of the nation that, in proportion to its size, has contributed most largely to the missionary host.

"Strike for the King and die ! and if thou diest,
The King is King, and ever wills the highest."

Personal devotion to Christ is the impelling power, when to those who have heard His call to salvation, *Come*, He utters His further call to service, *Go*. Let us quote again from Paton's journal, written in dire peril and when newly bereaved of his wife and infant son :

"Nothing else in the world but the abiding consciousness of the presence and power of my dear Lord and Saviour could have preserved me from losing my reason and perishing miserably. His words in Matt. xxviii. 20 became to me so

real that it would not have startled me to behold Him, as Stephen did, gazing down upon the scene."

This motive is one to be felt rather than discussed. Above the cry of the heathen sounds the voice of the Lord, the voice that won Zinzendorf through words written over an "Ecce Homo" in the Düsseldorf Gallery: "Hoc feci pro te: quid facis pro Me?"

CHAPTER V

THE FRATERNAL MOTIVE

CONCERN FOR THE CHURCH'S WELFARE

“Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof :
Because they came not to the help of the Lord.”
The Song of Deborah.

LONG familiar with the idea of Missions having to do with the saving of the world, we are learning at last that they have to do with the saving of the Church, which is continually verifying the old apophthegm :

“What I hoarded, I lost ;
What I spent, I had ;
What I gave, I have.”

God deals not only with individuals as individuals, but with nations as nations, and with churches as churches, and for all alike the path of obedience is the only path of blessing. Whether the heathen who have never heard will be condemned for their inevitable ignorance is a speculative question from which we may well turn to the practical certainty that a church which hears its marching orders without attempting to carry them out will certainly be condemned for its wilful insubordination.

In this world obscure people can live to themselves,

if they wish to do so, but exalted persons often seem to have everything except liberty and leisure to live their lives as they will; and an exalted person who fails to rise to the claims on time and thought and means which each day brings falls far lower than an insignificant person who is meanly selfish. Now what position is so high as that of members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven? And what was the Divine purpose in giving such high position to men? Christ did not merely leave a moral code, as Buddha did, or a system of dogma, as Mohammed did. He left, as the outward exhibition of His kingdom on earth, an organised society in vital union with Himself; not as an agency of insurance for those within, but as an agency of rescue for those without; a society pledged to spend itself for the welfare of the world, as "the human instrument through which the love of God embraces mankind."¹

The Christian ought to be overwhelmed with shame as he contrasts what the Church has been with what it was designed to be; when he hears the question, What is the Church going to do for me? instead of, What does the Church ask me to do for the world? We all know people who devote themselves so constantly to the care of their health that they have hardly any health left to take care of; and the Church has frequently suffered from a similar solicitude for its own welfare. The monastic system failed mainly

¹ J. R. Illingworth, *Reason and Revelation*.

because the monks desisted from their efforts to evangelise in order to nurture their own spiritual life. And the spirit which led them to lose sight of their original call as missionaries is found also among Christians of a widely different type. Not thirty years ago the proposal to add a missionary meeting to the programme of a famous inter-denominational Conference for the deepening of spiritual life was scouted. "We gather together for edification, not to help foreign missions." Nowadays that Conference follows the lead of the Keswick Convention and includes missions in its programme; but its earlier, self-centred idea of promoting true religion can only be likened to the ceaseless quest after new "treatment" which makes so many of the well-to-do unemployed invalids for good. For whether we are or are not correct in thinking that God's message to the world is "Hear the Gospel, or perish," we are undoubtedly correct in believing that His message to the Church is "Preach the Gospel, or perish."

Written large throughout its history is the lesson that, as with all living things, growth has been the token and the condition of its life. "Missions are from the beginning a law of life in the Christian Church; a necessity for its own preservation, and therefore a self-evident duty.¹

No previous generation had so little excuse as ours for not taking to heart the lesson which during 1900 years has been set forth in some of the darkest and some of the most glorious chapters of

¹ Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 2.

the Church's story. As it has ceased to advance, it has fallen before its foes, its aggressive power being always the measure of its power to resist, and its regard for the unevangelical masses abroad the measure of its regard for the lapsed masses at home. Was not A. H. Francke at once the pioneer of rescue work as founder of his famous Orphanage, and of missionary work as founder of the Danish-Halle Mission? Was not the Church Pastoral Aid Society born on the premises of the Church Missionary Society? Is not French Protestantism, which has suffered more from a corroding Rationalism than it ever suffered from the Dragonnades, lifting up its head as the French occupation of Madagascar and the Society Islands leads it to take up the fruitful and threatened work of the London Missionary Society in these places? And how closely allied, for sixty-seven years past, have been the splendid vitality of the Scottish Free Church at home and its unsurpassed missionary zeal abroad. We might dwell on the glowing spirituality of Ludwig Harms's peasant congregation at Hermansburg, and its connection with their self-sacrificing work in Africa, but will rather call attention to the satisfactory reports of the Tamil churches in South India, blest in their homes, liberal supporters of their own church, and intensely keen over the missionary work in the Nizam's Dominions, which has been wholly inaugurated, supported, and manned by Indian Christians since the formation, in February 1903, of the Indian Missionary Society of Tinneveli.

Great questions will face us later on, such as these: Why was Latin Christianity so strong when Greek Christianity had become so weak? Why did Latin Christianity, in its turn, call out for Reformation? Why did Protestant Christianity fall so low in the eighteenth century? Here let us be personal rather than historical in pleading that the Church at home needs to give quite as much as the field abroad needs to receive; that foreign missions can help our parish at least as much as our parish can help foreign missions. The Bishop of St. Albans, formerly Bishop of Newcastle, tells us that his experience in two dioceses proves conclusively that missionary zeal is the best test of spiritual life in a parish, that the parish which cares for Missions never neglects other claims. And since the Church, as a whole, is not what its parishes but rather what its individual members make it, genuine personal concern for Missions is a most accurate gauge of genuine personal piety. "There was a time when I had no care nor concern for the heathen," wrote Alexander Duff. "That was when I had none for my own soul."

Just as an individual sinner who has never known God, or who has fallen away from God, needs conversion to Christ; so a church which has never recognised, or has forgotten, its sacred calling needs conversion to Christ's work of ministering and giving His own life to the world. The church that desireth life and loveth many days must be, first of all, a missionary church.

CHAPTER VI

THE FILIAL MOTIVE

CONFORMITY TO THE WILL OF GOD

“Thy will be done.”—*The Lord's Prayer.*

THE world's need is sore ; the Lord's command is urgent ; it is the *duty* of all Christian men to make the Gospel known everywhere. Why ? Because it is the *right* of all men everywhere to know it. In spite of the Old Testament, the Jews, in their haughty exclusiveness and arrogant assumption of superiority to all other men, begrudged Gentiles their own spiritual privileges. In spite of the New Testament, Christians of the dominant white races, in their insular and insolent disparagement of aliens, have appropriated to themselves as “the Gentiles” the privileges forfeited by Israel, and have taken for granted that Christendom and Europe will always be, as they have been for a millennium, identical. We find it as hard to conceive a non-European Christendom as the earliest Christians found it to conceive a non-Hebrew Christendom ; and it would often enlighten us, when we read our Bibles, to substitute for the three words “Gentiles,” “Heathen,” “Nations” (which all alike represent τὰ ἔθνη)

“Africans and Asiatics.” For most of us fail to realise that the world is God’s world and not the devil’s world after all ; that (as Erskine of Linlathen put it) “the Lord Jesus was God’s gift to the world, and not to the Church. Unless the universality of the love and the redemption be declared by the Church, she is neither a light to the world nor a condemnation to the world.”¹

When we ask for the warrant for this belief we raise the whole subject to the highest possible level ; we explain the Last Command of Christ, and its intimate connexion with the Church’s welfare ; we obey it no longer with the inevitable action of the machine, the coerced submission of the slave, the dull acquiescence of the hireling, or the unreasoning subordination of the child ; but render the reasonable service, the comprehending and joyful co-operation of men whom the Divine Master deigns to designate friends and fellow-workers. We see the missionary enterprise *sub specie æternitatis*, in the light of the revealed Will of God. Every Christian owns that the known will of God must be the rule of his life ; every Christian says daily “Thy will be done.” But how limited a meaning the invocation usually has ! We quote it oftenest when joy goes out of our own little lives, or when we urge others to the passive virtue of unmurmuring resignation, and then carve it on a tombstone. In all this there is sometimes a latent heathenism which thinks of God as “a hard and austere man,” which does not really believe that His desire for the

¹ *The Brazen Serpent*, p. 258.

advancement of the kingdom of truth and righteousness is stronger and deeper than ours. Not so did St. Paul, the man "appointed to know God's will" (Acts xxii. 14), interpret it when he penned the glorious words: "GOD WILLETH THAT ALL MEN SHOULD BE SAVED, AND COME TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH."

Here is the ultimate motive for Missions and the sure pledge of their success. "God made us for Himself: and the purpose of His love for every individual soul and for the whole race of mankind cannot be attained or understood until all that He has given and redeemed is lifted up in glad and thankful offering to Him."¹ Now ours are the only hands and feet and voices by which this purpose of His love can be carried out, so that missionary enterprise will never be commensurate with missionary opportunity till the truth that God loved the world thrills every Christian heart, and His Name is no longer taken in vain by those who say "Thy will be done," and then leave to itself a heathendom which neither knows nor does it. "As long as the world suffers, Christ is still on the cross," says Pascal; but when we yearn to see His desire for all men satisfied, "Thy will be done" nerves to high resolve and strenuous effort, and like the Crusaders of old we take as our battle-cry, "DIEU LE VEUT."

All the six motives we have examined are always operating, though sometimes one and sometimes

¹ *Lambeth Conference Encyclical Letter*, 1908.

another dominates the conscience of a particular individual or a particular generation. Their individual power may be illustrated in certain pioneers of missionary enterprise. John Eliot, apostle of the Red Indians, was moved by the first ; we are told that "heartfelt compassion" sent him out ; Henry Martyn, as we saw, was moved by the second ; Robert Haldane, who sold his ancestral estate at Airthrey in order to found a mission at Benares, the centre of Hinduism, was moved by the third ; W. A. B. Johnson, the heroic pioneer in West Africa a century ago, was moved by the fourth—"I am ready to go to Sierra Leone and die for the name of the Lord Jesus," he said ; Francke had in view the quickening of Christendom by awakening it to its duty as much as the succour of heathendom, and was therefore moved by the fifth motive mainly ; for the crowning motive in action we look no lower than our Lord Himself—"My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me."

We started from the inspiring thought of falling into line with the philanthropic spirit of our own age ; we arrive at the far more inspiring thought of obeying our Master and only Saviour, accomplishing the purpose for which He founded His Church, and giving effect to the known Will of God.

The last three motives are the only ones that can be termed, without qualification, irresistible. If Christ is the Son of God and the only Saviour of all men, the Gospel must be taken by the whole Church to the whole world ; we cannot assert that the Japanese are too superior to need it, that the

Hottentots are too inferior to receive it. We are not called on to prove that Missions are successful. If everywhere and always they had failed, if no single missionary society that deserved his countenance existed, it would still be the duty of every Christian to take his share in proclaiming the Gospel, whether men hear or whether they forbear. "To disbelieve in the cause, to hesitate about the duty, . . . is utterly incompatible with real understanding of what the Christian faith is."¹

Christians who have not yet apprehended this require elementary instruction in missionary *principles*, not interesting information as to missionary *facts*. Apologetics not history, the *finis* not the *acta* of the Church must be set before them, and the ground of appeal must be God's message to man in Holy Scripture.

Christians who have apprehended the principles generally know something of the facts as they concern particular societies, or stations, or missionaries. But many have yet to acquire the helpful habit of looking at missionary problems historically. The Jews (as Prof. Sir W. Ramsay has shown)² were the best educated people of the ancient world because they were brought up upon history written by prophets; and the Church urgently needs history of that description to-day, first for its own sake and then for the sake of pleading Christ's cause with the world. It must not be content to round off the subject with some majestic text vaguely fore-

¹ R. C. Moberly, *Personality and Atonement*.

² *The Education of Christ*, pp. 58, 67.

casting a distant future, such as "I will give Thee the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession," "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," "He must reign till He hath put all His enemies under His feet," without considering the whole measure of success that has been granted to Missions in the past, or the general probability, on the human side, of still greater success in the future. For if we can show that men do hear and obey the Gospel we shall have, not fuller warrant for preaching it than the Apostles had, but much stronger encouragement in doing so.

Moreover when we came to the three motives that prove irresistible, we parted company with the man of the world. No argument from missionary principles can finally convince him, for if Christ is *not* the Son of God and the only Saviour the world is unsaved and unsavable; the Case for Missions falls to the ground.

We must turn from apologetics to history; from the critic's first statement, that Missions are a *mistake*, to his second statement, that they are a *failure*; from principles to practice. We ask him to look at missionary facts, and endeavour to set before him the Course of Missions. In making out the Case for Missions we started from acknowledgment of Christ's claim; in tracing the Course of Missions we lead up to acknowledgment of it, for the victorious progress of the Gospel compels us to believe that its message is true. At home, Christian evidences are being studied; abroad, they are being made.

PART II

THE COURSE OF MISSIONS
(*ECCLESIAE ACTA*)

"We fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

ROBERT BROWNING.

CHAPTER I

RELIGIONS, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

“Hath a nation changed their gods?”—JEREMIAH.

“*Sua cuique genti religio est, nostra nobis.*”—CICERO.

FROM the message of God in Holy Scripture concerning His purpose that the Church should embrace all mankind, we turn to the message of God in His providential dealings with men all down the ages. To what extent has the Church already embraced all mankind? To what extent is it likely to do so hereafter? On this, as on all other subjects, facts must be the raw material of our thinking, and we have nothing to fear from appeal to them. The principles we have just dealt with account for the facts, the facts in their turn vindicate the principles; and the two questions, How may we justify missionary enterprise? and How may we explain its success? appear of necessity interwoven.

The historical aspect of Missions is all we attempt to depict; their detailed history would involve examination of the religious annals of every land. Our object will, however, be gained if some to whom this larger view of Missions is new fill in our rough sketch further for themselves.

We will not begin by taking for granted that Christ is the Son of God and the only Saviour, and setting Christianity by itself as a unique, entirely true religion confronting a more or less uniform heathenism mitigated by a partially true Mohammedanism. We will put it into its historical place as one of six organised religions, as one of four prevailing religions, as one of three missionary religions in the world to-day. That it claims supremacy over the others, not merely precedence among them, that we as Christians have not followed cunningly devised fables, is the goal, not the starting-point, of our long journey.

It is at once irreligious and unscientific to think of any divine law as a mere arbitrary rule. So the law that a living church must be a growing church will presently appear as only a particular instance of a general law illustrated over a wide area. Every living religion must be a missionary religion, and, as the famous address of Professor Max Müller in Westminster Abbey in 1872 pointed out, "the classification of religions as converting and non-converting proceeds upon the most essential features of the religious life."

This idea has not yet dawned upon the Christian who believes in home missions but not in foreign missions ; nor upon the writer of this recent typical pronouncement :

"To-day, in the wider outlook of modern culture, thoughtful students have arrived at the definite conclusion that the wisest course is to leave the peoples of distant lands to the undisturbed enjoy-

ment of their ancestral faiths. The early novelty of the mission enterprise has now died out, and to-day it has spent its force and lost its interest."

Now, setting aside the fact, already touched on, that these ancestral faiths are neither good enough nor satisfying enough to be "enjoyed," and the two other facts, to be dealt with hereafter, that, quite apart from missionary enterprise, to-day's close contact between East and West, between savage and civilised, inevitably and utterly disturbs them, and that missions have never shown so much force or aroused so much interest as they do to-day, the conclusion so confidently announced belongs, not to "the wider outlook of modern culture," but to an old-world notion of religion that men began to unlearn over two thousand years ago, and that is now nearly obsolete.

"Hath a nation changed their gods?" Jeremiah asked, rebuking a tendency to go after foreign deities in the worst days of Judah. He would probably have answered his indignant rhetorical question in the negative; his contemporaries would certainly have done so. For the view which prevailed throughout the ancient world is the view which a Hebrew prophet expresses in Micah iv. 5; which Cicero puts into a terse phrase—"Each people has its own religion; we have ours." From motives of expediency, from mere whim, or abject terror, individuals paid occasional homage to gods of other races (*ξένα δαιμόνια* they are called in Acts xvii. 18), as the victorious Amaziah worshipped the gods of Seir, as Nebuchadnezzar ordered his sub-

jects to honour the God of Israel, as Alexander Severus offered to place an image of Christ in the Pantheon, as Greeks and Romans in their degenerate days were fascinated by weird oriental cults; but religions were regarded as primarily national; each nation worshipped its own gods, and expected other nations to worship theirs; and sometimes men who no longer believed in their national gods paid public homage to them from political and patriotic motives, because neglect of them threatened to upset valuable national institutions and to deprive authority of a useful instrument of government. "It was perfectly natural to a Greek that the religion of Egypt should be different from the one prevailing in Hellas. How could it be otherwise? The countries were different, and therefore the gods were different."¹

Here are two illustrations of the same point of view in non-Christian lands to-day. "It does not matter to me whether Christianity is true or false; that affects Christians, not Hindus," said a learned Brahman of Benares, father of Nehemiah Goreh. "You believe in Jesus, we believe in our gods," said a Taoist priest to Dr. Edkins. "Religion differs according to the place, and every country has its own divinities. Our object is the same as yours—to make men good. You honour Jesus, and it is well for you to do so; but He does not preside over China."

Jeremiah asked the question just quoted about 625 B.C. About a century later a young Indian

¹ Jastrow, *The Study of Religion*.

prince, living a hundred miles to the north-west of Benares, of noble character and great intellectual gifts, blest with all that the world could give, and shielded as far as might be from all contact with pain and suffering, was, nevertheless, grieved to the soul by the misery of man, and, departing secretly at night from the palace of his father Suddhodano, at Kapilavastu, and from his bride, the fair Yasodhara, went forth into the wilderness to find for his fellow-men a way of escape from sorrow. This "great renunciation" of Siddhartha Gautama inaugurated the first of the world's three missionary religions. From the day that its founder set out "to turn the wheel of the law," the trend of religious history has been slowly but surely away from the nationalist and towards the universalist principle. Strongly as the Romans asserted the nationalist principle in the Ten Persecutions of the Church to which it is the key, their action in making the whole ancient world politically one disintegrated that principle as effectually for the Western nations as the mission of the Buddha disintegrated it for the Eastern nations.

But it was St. Paul who first enunciated authoritatively in Rom. iii. 29 the principle of universality: "Is God the God of Jews only? Is He not the God of Gentiles also? Yea, of Gentiles also, if so be that God is One." That for the one human race there can be ultimately but one religion is theologically involved in the doctrine of Monotheism; and history by quite another road leads to the same conclusion, that Christianity only is potentially

universal now, and promises to become actually universal hereafter.

Which, then, are the three missionary religions? In the Parliament of Religions sitting at Chicago in September 1893, eleven religions were represented, to which two others, Sikhism and Paganism, may be added, making thirteen in all. Six of these can be set aside at once, for Shintoism, Taoism, and Confucianism are not in the strict sense religions; they bring no definite message to men concerning God and the life to come, and those who profess them as a rule profess Buddhism in addition. Jainism is a variant of Buddhism, even if independent in origin; Sikhism and the Brahmo Samáj are variants of Hinduism through blending with Islam and Christianity. Paganism, using the term correctly for the amorphous cults all more or less akin to each other which are without sacred books and known past, possesses no aggressive and but little resisting force. This leaves six great religions, in two groups corresponding to two great branches of the human family: three Aryan religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism; and three Semitic religions, whose close relation to each other is epigrammatically expressed in the saying that Christianity is Judaism completed and Islam is Judaism corrupted. Only three of these religions are missionary—Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam. Judaism and Zoroastrianism have both been missionary, and Hinduism ever prevails, and, in prevailing, grows.

In the golden days of Ardashir Babegan, who

succeeded to the Persian throne in A.D. 226, Zoroastrianism became militant and missionary, menacing even Christendom when he besieged Constantinople. Then it fell under Islam, and now is so essentially national in character that it recently refused to receive as a proselyte the French wife of a well-known Parsi merchant. At the Christian era Judaism compassed sea and land to make one proselyte ; but in earlier days, though individuals, such as Rahab, Ruth, and Naaman, came to worship the One God with them, the Jews did not promulgate the knowledge of Him which they had received as a sacred deposit. For while the more enlightened were well aware that Jehovah was no mere local Deity, but the God of heaven and earth, the injunction to them was, "Keep yourselves from the heathen," not "Give yourselves to the heathen." In the dark days which their rejection of the Messiah brought upon them "the Jews hoarded up their religion as they did their money, and considered it an heritage, or patrimony, or kind of entailed estate."¹ So the late Professor Marks, as a recognised exponent of modern Judaism, says that "though it is a missionary religion, yet, paradoxical as it may seem, it is very averse to proselytise."

Strictly speaking, Hinduism can only be professed between the Himalayas and the Vindhya ; that is, in the northern portion of the Indian peninsula. The regenerate must not dwell even temporarily in the land of barbarians beyond, says Manu. But in these days, when Hindus are tempted irresistibly

¹ W. Reade, *Martyrdom of Man*.

to travel far and wide, the toilsome and repellent ceremonial through which alone those who in former days broke caste by crossing the seas could be reinstated may be replaced by lavish gifts to the Brahmans; and Hinduism, which once triumphantly expelled Buddhism from India, and held its own with irrepressible vigour against Islam, now defies Christianity, and continues quietly to absorb aboriginal Paganism. It disputes with Judaism only the position of being the oldest of the historical religions; it probably ranks third, possibly second, among religions in the number of its adherents; we are only beginning to gauge its deep-rooted strength and tenacity. But it is, nevertheless, a national religion, with no claim to universality, though, unlike Judaism and Parsiism, it is professed by an aggregate of diverse peoples rather than by a single nation.

We now turn to the three religions that claim to be universal and that have actually become international—Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam; looking first at these religions in relation to each other and then at their prolonged conflict for the mastery. The diagram facing the title-page represents its course from century to century.

Chronologically, Christianity stands midway between Buddhism, which arose nearly 600 years before the Christian era, and Islam, which arose more than 600 years after it. Each of the three sprang from one of two very ancient and intensely national religions, whose complete fulfilment it claimed to be; for each appealed to the past, not professing to be an absolutely new creed. Buddha

proposed to deliver Hinduism from Brahmanical corruptions, and on its metaphysical side his system is the logical outcome of the Sankhya philosophy. Mohammed declared that Abraham had been a Moslem, and that the Koran, as the final revelation from God, was based on the Tourâh and the Ingîl (the Law and the Gospel). And our Lord Himself grounded His teaching on the Hebrew Scriptures, saying, "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil."

These three are the only religions that derive their designations from the names of their founders, or, to be quite accurate, from the *titles* of their founders in the case of Christianity and Buddhism. We shall see, later on, that the significance of these titles is a key to the characteristic difference between the only two religions that are really comparable as missionary forces.

At this point the story of Christian Missions appears as the greatest chapter in the history of those religions that put forward a claim on the allegiance of all men everywhere ; a history which may best be summarised by fastening upon seven epochs, less arbitrarily chosen than they at first appear to be : A.D. 1 ; A.D. 500 ; A.D. 1000 ; A.D. 1500 ; A.D. 1800 ; A.D. 1858 ; A.D. 1910. We shall survey the religious condition of the world at each epoch, and then glance back over the 500 preceding years to account for that condition. We need not shrink from doing this in the spirit of impartial students of history, acting on Tennyson's advice :

"Read the wide world's annals, you,
And take their wisdom for your friend."

CHAPTER II

THE FULNESS OF THE TIME

A.D. 1

THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST—BUDDHISM
ASCENDANT—THE EVE OF CHRISTIANITY

“The strong man fully armed guardeth his own court.”
LUKE xi. 21.

A.D. 1 is indeed the fulness of the time, for our Saviour was born about 500 years after the Restoration of the Jews and the teaching of the earliest Greek philosopher, Pythagoras, and of Zoroaster, Confucius, and Buddha in Persia, China, and India; about 1,000 years after the establishment of the worship of the One True God in Jerusalem by David and Solomon and the dawn of Greek literature and history; about 1,500 years after the Exodus of Israel and the dawn of Aryan civilisation in India; and about 2,000 years after Abraham and the great days of Babylon and Egypt.

Dean Merivale estimates that the Roman Emperor Augustus had eighty-five million subjects; Bishop Lightfoot calculates that his subjects included from one-seventh to one-tenth of the world's inhabitants; which would make its whole population then about half of what it is now.

In A.D. 1 Europe and Africa are wholly pagan, together with the unknown American and Australasian continents, and much of Asia. But for the most civilised portion of mankind sincere belief in the old gods gives place to sceptical indifference, which makes it possible to promulgate, as the one genuine religion of the one Empire, worship of the Emperor himself. In the Far East of Asia the philosophical and ethical systems of Lao Tzu and Confucius have been superimposed on aboriginal Paganism and dim tradition of a purer primeval worship. For some centuries the Zoroastrian system has prevailed in Persia. Hinduism, in its Vedic form, is at least a thousand years old in India, and most of its voluminous sacred literature is already written, or rather composed. But the mass of Indian peoples are probably Pagans, like the rest of the world.

One exception to this Paganism, noteworthy for the historian, though little considered by contemporaries, there is. In the Roman province of Syria, for more than a thousand years past, a petty and now subjugated nation has professed a religion unlike any other religion on earth, and an already ancient literature, written by certain prophets of theirs, speaks of one eternal God, who must be worshipped in holiness without idolatry. "They adore," says the Roman satirist, Juvenal, "nothing besides the clouds and the power of heaven." Their strange worship has already overstepped Judæa, for these Jews form a large colony at Alexandria in Egypt, one-third of that city having been bestowed upon them by the great

warrior who founded it and gave it his name. And the Jewish captives whom Pompey carried to Rome in 63 B.C. form a colony there also ; and in many other cities there are Jewish colonies with synagogues that gather about them little groups of Gentile proselytes (like "the devout women" of Acts xiii. 50) won by the grand theology, the pure morality, and the solemn mystery of their faith.

In the eastern portion of this almost wholly pagan world, the first missionary religion is disseminating the startling idea of an international faith, knowing no distinction of caste or race and no priestly order. About 250 years after the Buddha went forth to preach, his native land of Magadha was ruled by the wise and able Asoka (257-220 B.C.) whose sway extended over the greater part of India, from Kabul to the Ganges, or possibly the Kistna. "The Constantine of India," as he has been termed, made Buddhism the state religion, established a government office to preserve the purity of the faith and to spread it abroad, and sent his own son and daughter to Ceylon as its missionaries. Inscribed on rocks and pillars all over India some thirty-six of his edicts may still be seen, breathing an earnest desire to promote his subjects' spiritual welfare. Buddhist missionaries also entered Kashmir, which presently became in the north, as Ceylon already was in the south, a centre whence it was propagated far and wide.

Not by force but by persuasion, it won men ; its founder, whom Barth describes as "a finished model of calm and sweet majesty, of infinite tenderness

for all that breathes," had sent out monks, forswearing all worldly wealth and all family ties, and pledging themselves to absolute obedience to the rule of their order. Outside Israel, they are the first preachers in the vulgar tongue of a higher life and of the need of conversion to that higher life or "entrance into the current," as they termed it. Here is the commission that the Buddha gave them: "Go forth on your journeys for the weal and the welfare of much people; out of compassion for the world, and for the wealth and the weal and the welfare of angels and mortals. Preach the Truth thoroughly glorious, and proclaim a religious life wholly perfect and pure."¹

Such was the condition of the world when the most important event in its history happened on—

"the happy morn
Wherein the Son of Heaven's Eternal King,
Of wedded Maid and Virgin Mother born,
Our great redemption from above did bring."

MILTON.

¹ Quoted by Prof. M. Anesaki, *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1905.

TABLE OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM

Early Christendom. Conquest of the Roman Empire. (400 years.)	Striving	A.D. 30 (or 45) to 324	Pentecost (or St. Paul's first Journey) to Constantine.
	Prevailing	324 to 450	Constantine to the Downfall of classical Paganism.
Mediæval Christendom. Conquest of Europe. (1000 years.)	Striving	380 (or 486) to 800	Ulphilas (or the Conversion of Clovis) to Charlemagne.
	Prevailing	800 to 1380	Charlemagne to the Conversion of Lithuania.
Modern Christendom. World-wide Conquest.	Effort of the Roman Church:	{	Xavier to the Suppression of the Jesuits.
			Founding of Lyons Institution to Opening of the Doors.
	Effort of Reformed Churches (a) in outlying districts (b) in centres of Heathenism.	{	Founding of S.P.G. (or Moravian Missions) to Carey.
			Carey to Opening of the Doors.
Half a century of organised evangelisation everywhere.	{	{	Opening of the Doors to Present Day.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A.D. 500

THE ROMAN EMPIRE BROKEN UP—BUDDHISM AT ITS ZENITH—CHRISTIANITY TRIUMPHANT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE—THE EVE OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

I.X. NIKA

A.D. 500 marks a turning-point in the world's history. The still unknown American and Australasian continents are still pagan, so also is all South Africa and nearly all Central Africa, and North and North-eastern Europe, with much of Asia. But great changes have come to North Africa, Western, Southern and South-eastern Europe, Western, Southern, and Eastern Asia, through two aggressive religions, which have both done much to make good their world-wide claims. Buddhism, now one thousand years old, is prevailing over East Asia and South-east Asia; Christianity, now half its age, has won all the lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and extends from Britain to Babylon, from Ethiopia to Parthia, and even South India.

We return to A.D. 1 to trace the process by which

all this has come to pass, resuming the story of Buddhism.

About the time that St. Paul's vision of the man of Macedonia summoned him to the Christian Continent of the future, Ming-ti, Emperor of China (A.D. 58-76), dreamed of a shining one flying down from heaven and hovering over his palace ; and the interpretation of his dream was that a Divine Person had been born in the West. So he at once sent messengers to India for further tidings, and they presently returned from Magadha with two Buddhist monks and books and relics. Thus Buddhism became the popular religion of "The Middle Kingdom," seldom officially recognised, and from time to time fiercely persecuted by the Chinese authorities, but universally accepted by the masses. And while Ming-ti's messengers were halting ere they had gone far enough in their journey westwards, Kanishka, King of Kashmir, was beginning from his Himalayan kingdom active propaganda of Buddhism, which soon prevailed as widely on the northern confines of India as it had already done in the south. In a weirdly corrupt form, it was adopted by Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, Bactria, Bhutan, and Sikkim, and centred in the long inviolate realm of the Grand Lama. About 372 it won Korea ; about 550 it passed thence to Japan, and from that day to this every Japanese has been buried with Buddhist rites. Spreading in its southern and least altered form from Ceylon, it won Burma about 450, Java in 550, and Siam in 638.

But by this time, after a long struggle, of which

the details are obscure, it was expelled from the land of its birth, and triumphant Hinduism gained new strength by initiating the popular cults of Rama and Krishna. Though Buddhism has left many traces in the life and beliefs of India, there have been no Buddhists in India proper since. Notwithstanding this irretrievable loss, A.D. 500 may be taken as roughly marking the zenith of the only religion in any degree similar to Christianity in its moral teaching or its inherent capacity for expansion.

Of all religions, it may most fitly be described as being "without hope." Yet during a thousand years it captured realm after realm, and the whole of Eastern Asia venerates to-day Sakya Muni, or Shaka (the hermit of the Sakyas), as "the Buddha," that is, the Enlightened One.

And what of "the Light that shone when Hope was born," not, like Buddhism, into the midst of an immense realm living out its own life remote from the main stream of history; but into a small province, isolated indeed in thought from the rest of mankind, but set in the very heart of the old world, on the shores of the Mediterranean, the highway of nations, under the imperial sway that was unifying the human race as it had never been unified before? The story just told reminds us that, when Augustus ordered all the world to be enrolled, his decree touched, not the whole globe, but "the inhabited earth" as known to Rome. Though her vanguard encamped on the Rhine and the Thames, on the Nile and the Euphrates, there

lay beyond her domain, each far vaster than any Roman guessed, the Oriental world of the past and the Occidental world of the future. Yet, in a true sense, Rome was the world and the world was Rome. At its greatest, from A.D. 98 to A.D. 117, the empire stretched from the Tyne to the Tigris, from the Atlantic to the Caspian Sea. It included a complicated mosaic of kingdoms and peoples, a hundred races with a hundred tongues, from the oldest of civilised nations in Egypt and Babylon to the rude barbarians on its frontiers; all under the protection of the same laws, with Latin for a common official language, however far they travelled, north, south, east, and west, in the swift ships that thronged the Mediterranean, or on the roads that radiated from the Imperial City, binding all her vassals together and subduing to herself tribes dwelling in forests as primeval as those of Central Africa to-day.

And while the dominating material and political power in the world, the power of law and command and order, was with the Roman, the dominating intellectual power, the power of culture and philosophy and commerce, was with the Greek; and his language was generally understood by educated people. And lastly, the mightiest spiritual power, the power of conscience and of clear conviction as to the Unseen, was with the Hebrew. Those scattered groups of proselytes, reading the Greek version of the Old Testament, were the seedplots of the first Christian churches. The first and greatest of Christian missionaries to the nations was

moulded by all these influences ; by birth a Roman citizen, commonly known by a Latin name ; by education a Greek, born and reared in the Greek city of Tarsus ; and by descent and religious training a Hebrew, with Jerusalem for his “ university city ”—such was St. Paul, the vessel chosen to bear the Name of Christ far and wide.

For Christ Himself was not a missionary of Christianity, as Buddha was a missionary of Buddhism. He gave indeed a body of doctrine and a moral code, but the main purpose of His mission was to draw men to Himself. He is more than the Founder—He is the Foundation of our Faith. The key to the unexpected fact that His own ministry to the world He came to save was limited to one small province and one insignificant race is that His mission could only be received by a people specially prepared to receive it through two thousand years of progressive revelation. Salvation was from the Jews ; belief in Moses was a necessary step to belief in Christ. Moreover, there was no gospel message for the world until, by His Death and Resurrection and Ascension, He had fulfilled the prophetic word of that preparatory revelation. At first we resent, because it seems to put another beside our Lord, John Stuart Mill’s remark that, if there had been no Christ and no St. Paul, there would have been no Christianity. But it only unconsciously echoes St. Luke’s summary of the gospel narrative as containing what “ Jesus *began* both to do and to teach.” The redemption of the world had been accomplished ; in that sense Christ’s

work was finished ; but the proclamation to the world that it had been redeemed had then to be made.

The last words on earth of the Risen Lord outlined the progress of the faith in ever-widening circles : “ Jerusalem—all Judæa and Samaria—the uttermost parts of the earth ” ; and the Book of the Acts of the Apostles (that is, “ of the Deeds of the Missionaries ”) tells how that Christian itinerary was carried out from A.D. 30 to A.D. 65, that is, in the first of the sixty-four generations during which the Church has existed. We must picture its extension geographically from its original centre, not in long-drawn-out lines, but as a series of concentric waves, each of which enlarges and travels outwards, as when a stone is thrown into a lake. The good tidings would soon be carried to all the fifteen places from which Jews and proselytes had assembled at Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, the birthday of the Church ; that is, roughly, 1,000 miles to the east, 1,500 miles to the west, 500 miles to the south, and to some northern regions as well. Acts is at once the Gospel of the Holy Ghost, the first Church History and the first missionary report.

Subsequent history is best realised by considering six cities—Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople—which became successively missionary centres. In all but the two last St. Paul laboured, and all, save Ephesus, were seats of patriarchates, each associated with a particular phase of Christianity.

JERUSALEM, historic capital of the nation which had preserved for mankind the worship of the One God, became the metropolis of the *Hebrew Church*, founded by St. Peter and presided over by St. James, "the Lord's brother." Here was held in A.D. 50, just twenty years after the Ascension, the Council which determined that entrance into the Church would not always be by way of the synagogue, that Gentiles need not become Jews in order to become Christians; thus freeing Christ's religion from conditions that would have hindered it from being universal, which would, humanly speaking, have involved it in the fall of the Jewish nation twenty years later.

Eight years after the Council we have a glimpse of this original Hebrew Church as containing "myriads all zealous for the Law" (Acts xxi. 20). Some modern writers describe them as not less zealous for the Gospel, as one and all ardent and successful itinerant evangelists. The only foundation in Scripture for this idea is the allusion to scattered fugitives preaching everywhere after the martyrdom of St. Stephen. That St. James himself was a missionary may be inferred from 1 Cor. ix. 5; but his Epistle, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, the other document which represents this Hebrew Church, are, in one respect, a striking contrast to the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John. Each contains but one indirect allusion to missionary principles; neither alludes to missionary work. Nor do we find in them any of the following words, so common elsewhere in the New Testament:

“Gentiles,” “Gospel,” “world” (meaning the empire), “all men” (meaning humanity as a whole), “every creature.” Dr. Hort has shown how Judaic this mother-church of Jerusalem remained; addicted to ordinances that had been helpful in a past now over for ever; anxious to put the new wine into old bottles. Nothing less than the Fall of Jerusalem ended the controversy which St. Paul had with Judaising Christians. It had produced the Epistle to the Galatians, in which he had not only contended for a principle essential to the continuance and extension of the Church then; but had expounded truths of eternal significance and world-wide application, which have been a precious treasure to the Church again and again in later crises. Jerusalem missed the privilege of being the evangelising centre for Gentile Christendom; and its Jewish church disappears from history, for in the second century we find a Gentile bishop in the Holy City. It was the deacons of the Hellenist Dispersion, St. Stephen, anticipating a spiritual Temple, and St. Philip, evangelising aliens of three different lands, who were St. Paul’s true predecessors.

ANTIOCH, a cosmopolitan place, with a population of half a million, the third city in the empire, became the metropolis of the *Gentile Church*, the mother-church of Gentile Christendom. In A.D. 30, at Jerusalem, St. Peter had opened the door of the kingdom of heaven to the Jews; in A.D. 40, at Cæsarea, he opened it to the Gentiles by baptizing the Roman proselyte Cornelius and his friends.

Then, at Antioch, some Cyprian and Cyrenæan missionaries preached to Gentiles as Gentiles,¹ apparently for the first time ; at Antioch also the emergence of Christianity from Judaism was further marked by the coining of the name " Christian "—a hybrid word of suggestive history, for it holds a Hebrew idea translated into Greek, and is completed by a Latin suffix. At Antioch, the first real missionary centre, the first formally appointed heralds of the Gospel abroad were commissioned ; Antioch was the starting-point and the goal of those three missionary journeys of St. Paul which led him, under divine guidance, into the region where the most important history of the future was to be made ; which were the earnest and the type of all subsequent missionary enterprise. Later on, Antioch sent the Gospel to India and China also, and bade fair to be a light to Asia as well as to Europe.

EPHESUS, a wealthy and busy seaport, capital of Roman Asia, chief meeting-place of East and West, and, through its renowned temple to Artemis, a centre of heathendom comparable to Benares or Kandy now, became the metropolis of the *Catholic Church*, in which at last Jew and Gentile stood undistinguished in one fold. The Church there was founded by St. Paul, and for many years presided over by St. John, who stands to Catholic Christianity as St. Peter stands to Hebrew and St. Paul to Gentile Christianity. It claimed more

¹ Acts xi. 20, R.V. "Greeks" not "Grecians" is the correct reading.

of the time and labour of two of the three greatest apostles than any other place ; in it, the New Testament canon was completed by St. John's writings ; and to its church as a whole, or to particular members of it, ten of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament were primarily addressed. The district immediately round it seems to have been the part of the world most thoroughly evangelised in the first century.

ROME, the capital of the empire, became the metropolis of *Latin Christendom*. In St. Paul's life we note the contrast between the ceaseless, bitter, organised hostility of the Jews, and the indifference, curiosity, tolerance, and on the whole impartiality, of the Romans, to whom his attitude was that of a loyal, law-abiding citizen. Twelve times Jews plotted against his life ; twice only did Gentiles oppose him, and then not from religious motives, but ostensibly from public-spirited zeal for law and order, and actually from fear that private interests were menaced. But, like his Master, he suffered in the end at Roman hands. For he was martyred in the first of Ten Persecutions of the Christians, which were provoked by the discovery that the Christian Church was something more than a new Jewish sect who believed, unlike the rest of the Jews, that the Messiah had come. Christianity claimed to be the one religion for all men, and therefore ten Roman emperors, during 240 years from Nero in A.D. 64 to Diocletian in A.D. 303, tried to achieve its destruction.

ALEXANDRIA, the second city in the empire,

heir of Athens as the intellectual capital of the world, represented in its most enduring form the influence of Alexander the Great, the first man who deliberately set himself to unite the East and the West. It was a centre of Judaism second only to Jerusalem, Egypt, the house of bondage of their fathers, being to later Jews a school of wisdom, as Grätz remarks. Its scholars produced the Septuagint, the Greek version of the Old Testament, aptly designated "the first apostle of the Gentiles"; and nowhere did Christianity thrive better than in this important city. It became the metropolis of the *Greek Church*, famous for its scholarship and philosophy; in the first century, for the learned Apollos, mighty in the Scriptures; in the second century, for Pantænus, the erudite president of the first missionary institute, its School of Catechumens, who went forth as the first missionary to India known to history; and in the fourth century, for Frumentius, the evangelist of Abyssinia, first translator of the Bible into an African tongue. Dr. Hatch thus sums up Greek influence on Christian theology: "It furnished a reasoned basis for Hebrew Monotheism. It helped the Christian communities to believe as an intellectual conviction that which they had first accepted as a spiritual revelation."

From Alexandria the Gospel spread all over North Africa, where there were as many as 690 bishoprics,¹ and early church history has no more illustrious names than Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Augustine,

¹ Bishop Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, p. 68.

Bishop of Hippo, and Tertullian the apologist ; no more venerated names than Catherine of Egypt, Perpetua and Felicitas of Carthage, the first women who died for Christ in Africa ; no more eminent name than Origen, greatest teacher since the Apostles.

To St. Paul had been revealed the mystery that the Gentiles were fellow-partakers of the promise, fellow-heirs, fellow-members of the Body (Eph. iii. 6). He was the first Christian who "thought imperially," the first who clearly understood that Christianity must be a missionary religion, until it becomes the universal religion. In his day, and for long after, Christians generally conceived the Roman power as incurably hostile, opposing and oppressing the little flock of Christ to the end. But upon St. Paul dawned the magnificent conception of the Empire as the instrument, even as the Apostles were the agents, of bringing the whole world to Christ. After St. Paul, Origen, in A.D. 250, was the first who dared to dream of a Christian Empire.

Here we may pause, then, just half-way through our period, to estimate the whole progress achieved by the Faith in the two centuries since the epoch-making Council of A.D. 50.

It is impossible to have an exaggerated idea of the ultimate results of apostolic missions ; but we may easily have an exaggerated idea of their immediate results. In the *Hibbert Journal* for April 1903, an article on "The Failure of Christian Missions in India" says of St. Paul, in order to point a disparaging comparison with his successors,

that he "swayed the thought of the Western world." The assertion is easily tested. Gallio, in a spirit worthy of the responsible official of a great Power, once refused to proceed against the apostle at the instigation of his scheming and riotous compatriots. Could you have asked the wise and kindly brother of Seneca if Paul was swaying the thought of the world, your question would only have provoked another question, "Who may Paul be?" Even if Gallio recalled him, after some reflection, as the leader of one of the most fanatical and obscure sects of the fanatical and obscure Jews, he would have scouted as preposterous the notion that anything which Paul taught had swayed, or ever could sway, the thought of the world. Tacitus describes the origin and course of the persecution in which St. Paul was put to death. To the sagacious Roman historian, the tale of Christ and Christians is one more illustration of credulity and strange superstition among unlearned folk. Further instructive evidence as to how Christianity impressed a high-minded and distinguished Roman comes to us in a letter addressed to the Emperor Trajan in A.D. 108, by Pliny, proprætor of Pontica, an able statesman, the friend of his sovereign. It describes how a little company of humble Christians gathered before daylight on the Lord's Day round the Lord's Table, sang hymns to Christ as God, and bound themselves by an oath to do no wrong. Pliny does not understand their particular superstition, but feels no doubt that their stubbornness and inflexible

obstinacy should be punished. Roman life went on as of yore, concerning itself scarcely at all about the new religion. Even Justin Martyr's inestimable account of Christian worship indicates how insignificant numerically the Church still was in A.D. 139.

Precise data are few, and formerly church historians merely quoted vague rhetorical statements of early Fathers as to the Gospel being preached everywhere. Bishop Lightfoot, however, in a paper read at the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on April 29th, 1873, investigated "the Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions," bringing his rare learning and judgment to the solution of the question, How strong was the Church in A.D. 250? He concluded that wide diffusion, rather than overflowing numbers of Christians, is to be inferred from the enthusiastic statements of Tertullian; that the Roman Church was still composed of Greeks and Orientals; while old Latin Rome—the Senate, the aristocracy, the cultivated and influential classes—was still in great part pagan, so far as it was anything; that native Gaul was not more Christian than native India now; and that there had been a strong pagan revival in the second century. It is clear that after the first two hundred years of evangelisation abundant material was forthcoming for a telling article on "The Failure of Christian Missions" by one of those accounted wise in their generation on such lines as these: "The well-meaning preachers of the Gospel will never be able to make good

the overweening claims put forward for it. Rank, wealth, tradition, culture, patriotism, long-established cults, are all arrayed against the Church; it courts opposition by threatening the whole fabric of society, abolishing race distinctions and social distinctions, since they say that there is neither Greek nor Jew, neither bond nor free. The Christians stand morosely aloof from pleasant ordinary human intercourse because of its connexion with indigenous cults, and are hopelessly out of touch with their countrymen; and their church is built of most unpromising material, a large proportion of its members being slaves—that is, persons who can be put to death in sheer wantonness, whose baptized children can be seized and sold, perchance to a life of infamy. Moreover, little as they have to gain by professing Christianity, many of the so-called Christians are very unsatisfactory people. Did not one of the Twelve Apostles prove a traitor? Did not St. Paul's own converts include Thessalonians given to neglect of daily duty for dreams of the future; Colossians entangled in the sophistries of a vain philosophy; Galatians fiercely quarrelsome and easily beguiled by specious error; Corinthians flagrantly immoral, split up into parties, and full of sectarian animosity, whose conduct sometimes compared unfavourably with the conduct of their heathen neighbours? Christian preaching, on the one hand, is too popular, too childish and simple to commend itself to men trained in philosophy; on the other hand, its dogmas are too abstruse and recondite for men whose

religion is, and always will be, bound up with crude popular mythology."

And, while all this was being acutely said, silently and steadily the Church was winning here and there a proconsul like Sergius Paulus, a judge like Dionysius, a city treasurer like Erastus; but mostly winning unconsidered humble folk; occupying strategic positions such as the five cities already enumerated; and becoming the strongest moral and spiritual force in the empire.

Passing on fifty years from 250 we are in the midst of the last and most relentless of the Ten Persecutions, which lasted ten years—the despairing, dying effort of doomed Paganism, the final sifting of the Church ere it was imperilled by imperial favour. Then came Galerius's Edict of Toleration in 311; the battle of the Milvian Bridge, where Constantine, inspired by his famous vision, won the day in 312; his Edict of universal freedom for religion in 313; his public profession of the Christian faith in 324; the first Ecumenical Council of the church at Nicæa in 325, and in 330 the founding of Constantinople, the first city that had churches instead of heathen temples from its foundation.

CONSTANTINOPLE became the capital of the Eastern Empire, heir of the eminence of Ephesus, metropolis of the *Oriental Church*. No city in the world has a finer situation, and in historical importance it comes after Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome only. With its foundation, permission to Christianity to exist passed into patronage of it as the state religion. "It made little progress till the State

favoured it," is Gibbon's insinuation. Rather, as Prof. Blunt showed conclusively in *The Christian Church during the First Three Centuries*, it had made so much progress that the State could withhold its countenance no longer. Edicts favouring it passed into edicts against Paganism, beginning with that of Theodosius I. in 380, and culminating in the Edict of Theodosius II. in 435, commanding that all pagan temples should be destroyed or turned into churches.

So, 400 years after the Council at Jerusalem which made Gentile Christianity possible, fifty years before A.D. 500, Paganism fell for ever in the Roman world. The fact that its gods have for centuries been only *nominum umbrae*, that Diana of the Ephesians, whom all Asia and the world worshipped once, has not a single votary to-day, is so familiar that we do not perceive how wonderful an event was that first great Triumph of Christianity. Gustave Doré's grand picture brings it home to our imaginations even better than the eloquent words in which Principal Cairns describes it :

"Another conquest so complete and absolute does not mark the history of the world. . . . Thus there was ended a revolution greater than if the idolatries of India, China, and Japan were one and all to fall ; for these are not the leading nations of the world, nor will their thought affect all time ; whereas Paganism died then in the very centre of the world's life and greatness, and the thought from the midst of which, as by a mighty hand, it

was torn out, has lived on to affect all literature, and even the Christianity that overmastered it, to the end of the world.”¹

“JESUS CHRIST CONQUERS”—such is the meaning of the Greek motto at the head of this chapter, taken from the bronze gates of the ancient Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople. Its first fulfilment is a pledge of fulfilments yet to come. That Christianity was strong, when nothing else in the perishing Roman world was strong, was to be shown presently in a notable way; but in A.D. 500 the “neutral” student of religion might have hazarded a guess that the two missionary religions, Buddhism and Christianity, which had pursued their victorious course on two sides of the world (apparently without contact with each other), would presently divide the world between them. He certainly could not have foreseen the actual course of events for either, during the next five hundred years.

¹ *The Success of Christianity and Modern Explanations of it.*

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A.D. 1000

BUDDHISM WANING—EASTERN CHRISTIANITY OVERTHROWN—MOHAMMEDANISM ASCENDANT

“Why hast Thou broken down her fences?”

PSALM lxxx. 12.

“A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright,

But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.”

TENNYSON.

IN A.D. 1000 the still unknown American and Australasian continents are still Pagan, as they were in 500; so also are all South Africa and nearly all Central Africa, much of Asia and, in Europe, Pomerania, Prussia, Lithuania, Lapland, and Finland.

Buddhism has entirely disappeared from India, but holds Ceylon, Further India, Central Asia, Japan, and China. In China it survived severe persecution in A.D. 845, and is a growing power. But Siam, won in 638, remains, and will remain, its last considerable conquest.

The number of Christians in A.D. 1000 is estimated

at 50,000,000 ; but Christendom has gained much and lost much since A.D. 500, and its frontiers are wholly changed. In 450, after four centuries of effort, the Church was rejoicing over the winning of the Roman Empire, the first of the three tasks set before it. All the countries round the Mediterranean were Christian, and the Church had, as its five strongholds and patriarchal sees, Jerusalem, its own cradle in Syria ; the three leading cities of the old Empire—Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch ; and the capital of the new Empire, Constantinople.

When in A.D. 410 Alaric sacked Rome, which had not seen a foreign foe within her gates since Brennus entered 800 years before, some declared that, in this incredible calamity, its old gods were avenging their forsaken worship : the five dreadful days and nights, when the judgment of Babylon the Great came suddenly, were like the end of all things ; men ceased to look forward to any future for society. But Augustine made its fall the occasion of his *De Civitate Dei*, which Charles Kingsley called the noblest Theodicy, or Vindication of God's dealings, that ever proceeded from a human pen. So men of heroic faith, looking straight up to the Enthroned Christ, refused to believe that His Church could perish with the Empire now tottering to its ruin. For in 476, a quarter of a century after the downfall of Paganism, came the ignoble collapse of the mighty Empire which had first persecuted and then patronised the Church, and to the world it seemed itself to be involved in that utter destruction. Once again, two hundred years later, heroic

faith refused to believe that the religion of Christ could yield to a creed which formally denied Him.

For in 622 a third missionary religion suddenly appeared, and prevailed in all the three continents of the Old World, its story being henceforth inextricably interwoven with the story of Christendom. As Hinduism had captured the original heritage of Buddhism, so Islam captures the lands first won to Christ, and 350 years of uninterrupted progress bring it to the zenith of its power. Between the East and the West, drawn so near together in A.D. 1, a great barrier is raised which will not be removed for centuries. For in A.D. 1000 Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, the seats of the Asiatic and African patriarchates, are in Moslem hands. Beyond Europe, Christianity is barely visible; in Africa, Coptic and Abyssinian churches, in Asia, Nestorian, Syrian, and Armenian churches feebly survive. Christendom, hitherto undivided, is about to fall asunder between the two remaining patriarchates, Rome and Constantinople; and, far from having gained a final victory or anticipating fresh conquests, the Church in the early Middle Ages seems to have lost most of the ground hitherto gained, to have all to begin anew. In what way a resurrection to new life and further progress could come about was, beyond all the imaginings even of those whose faith and hope lived on.

We return to A.D. 500 to trace the events whose outcome has been thus summarised:

Ere He left this world, on the last night of His

mortal life and in the last days that He walked on earth in His risen life, Christ laid three "new commands" on His followers: "This do in remembrance of Me," "Love one another," "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel." But Christians have too often stayed at home to fight with each other over the exact meaning of the first of these commands, as if the other two had never been given. The extent to which this disobedience imperils Christ's cause can best be measured by studying the rise and fall of the Church that conquered the Roman Empire. Its triumph was not all gain, for when it was no longer persecuted, but popular, it lost much of its purity and unworldliness; its close alliance with the State cost much of its spiritual freedom; superstition crept in apace; rampant controversy and bitter sectarian spirit dissipated its energies and diverted it from carrying out its great commission. It became self-centred, political, and polemical, and its aggressive power decayed from within.

As Judaistic error had ravaged the Church in the first century, so Arian error ravaged it in the fourth. Gibbon records the controversy which ended in eliminating an iota from the Nicene Creed with something like a sneer at the victims of a diphthong. Carlyle, with far truer insight into the age, remarked to Froude that "Christianity itself had been at stake. If the Arians had won it would have dwindled away into a legend." In the days of Constantius, son of the first Christian emperor, Arianism, actively favoured at the Court

of Constantinople, seemed likely to win. Catholic bishops were banished, Catholic Christians became a despised and persecuted minority ; till Athanasius arose as the champion of the supreme truth of God manifest in the flesh. Then as now, this was a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence ; then as now, men desired a form of Christianity which stopped short of confessing Christ as the Everlasting Son of the Father and the only Saviour of men. In contending for that iota, the Catholics were contending for the essence of the faith ; “ if they were right, it was a sin not to worship Christ ; if the Arians were right, to worship Him was idolatry.”¹ Moreover Arianism was the last line of defence of a dying polytheism ; converts just emerging from heathenism were ready to adore a Christ whom they took to be less than God over all ; and on this side the controversy continued Israel’s old battle for Monotheism. A similar tendency to Arianism may be noted to-day in metaphysical Hindus and open-minded Japanese, steeped in polytheism for centuries ; and we are learning all over again in the mission field the value of our Nicene and Athanasian Creeds which to Western congregations, with a whole millennium of Christianity behind them, seem redundant in their explicitness.

The days in which, as an early Father says, you could not go into a baker’s shop without being asked what you thought of the eternity of the Son ; the days when men cared rather to discuss the

¹ Cutts, *Turning Points of General Church History*.

Gospel than to diffuse it, left an evil tradition of religion as a mere logomachy. Party bitterness exists to-day, as both the distracted Church at home and the neglected world abroad experience to their cost ; but Bishop Lightfoot says : “ However great may be the theological differences and religious animosities of our own time, they are far surpassed in magnitude by the distractions of an age which, closing our eyes to facts, we are apt to invest with an ideal excellence.”¹

The controversy which existed from apostolic times was never more virulent than in Constantinople. After the schism of 1054 had severed the Greek Church from the Latin Church once for all, a prince of the Byzantine Empire said that he would rather see the turban of the Sultan there than the tiara of the Pope.² In these disputes religious men forgot religion, worldly men took sides in theological wrangles, and, as Dean Prideaux puts it in his stately seventeenth-century English : “ Some of those who were the hottest contenders about Christianity became the first apostates from it, and they who would not afore part with a nicety, an abstruse notion, or an unreasonable scruple for the peace of the Church, were soon brought, by the sword at their throats, to give up the whole in compliance to the pleasure of a barbarous and savage conqueror.”

To the lack of missionary zeal in the Eastern Church there was one bright exception : the Nes-

¹ *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.*

² Finlay, *History of Byzantine Empire*, vol. ii. p. 637.

torians scattered the good seed far and wide, founding a chain of bishoprics from Jerusalem to Pekin. In 1625 Jesuit missionaries discovered, near Sian Fu in North China, a black marble tablet dated A.D. 781, which recorded the arrival of a Syrian priest in 635; and, over six hundred years after he had founded a church there, members of it were met by the famous traveller, Marco Polo. Some believe that a still more interesting relic of the "multitude of Christians" who were the result of Nestorian missions to the West coast of India in the sixth century survives in the "bhakti" doctrine, so conspicuous in modern Hinduism, and so unlike anything in ancient Hinduism.

A later exception to the lack of missionary zeal might be cited—the Greek Church folding a mighty flock through the baptism of Vladimir of Russia in 988, just a dozen years before the epoch we are considering. But the most Oriental of European peoples was brought into the Eastern Church, as the last great accession to its numbers, not so much through Byzantine missionary zeal, as through the marriage of a Byzantine princess.

The decadence of Eastern Christendom paved the way for the saddest and most perplexing event in the religious history of the world—the triumph of Islam; an overwhelming judgment on the Church which is a warning to all time that individual faithlessness may destroy corporate life.

When we perceive why the preliminary revelation could only be made to one nation, why the perfect revelation could only come in the fulness of time,

why it came to be rejected as well as received ; we are baffled afresh on finding that this religion of Christ was not the latest-born religion. Six centuries after Christ came Mohammed, professing to bring the final revelation superseding all previous revelations ; and in a hundred years his new creed won far more startling and decisive success than either Buddhism or Christianity won during its first century. Islam gained converts from all other religions, Christianity not excepted ; and dominates to-day the territories of all the great empires of the ancient world, Rome only excepted ; and all lands, Italy only excepted, which are the scenes of Bible story.

In Genesis, our wonderful Book of Origins, " it is written," says St. Paul, " that Abraham had two sons, one by the bondwoman, and one by the freewoman ; which things contain an allegory." This allegory illuminates the mystery. From Isaac, supernatural child of promise, deliberately called his *only* son, was descended Christ, and the dawn of Judaism became the noon of Christianity. From Ishmael, born after the flesh through a good man's self-willed device for securing divine blessing, sprang Mohammed, adding enduring falsehood to eternal truth with his creed : " There is no god but God ; Mohammed is the apostle of God." Over against Christ, greatest son of Isaac, stands Mohammed, greatest son of Ishmael, each strikingly foreshadowed by his ancestor in character ; and " son of a bondwoman " describes the Moslem as accurately as " son of a freewoman " describes the

Christian. The hardy and daring Ishmael with his vigorous young mother, mocking the helpless infant of the aged Sarah, claiming share in his heritage, cast out yet living before God, untamed and irreconcilable, "as a wild ass among men, his hand against every man," prefigured his descendants all down the centuries, scorning and harrying weakened and corrupted Christianity.

Mohammed was born in A.D. 570, and died in 632. His missionary career is divided into two periods of ten years each by the Hegira, or flight from Mecca to Medina, in 622. In the first period he appears as a prophet and preacher, convincing others, as one fully convinced in an age of doubt, that God is and that He is One and Almighty ; and gathering two hundred disciples at Mecca and more perhaps at Medina. In the second period he appears as a prophet and king, sending out from the sterile peninsula which had been the undisputed inheritance of the Arabs since Ishmael's days a fierce horde of hardy, needy warrior-brigands, "a multitude who licked up all that were round about as an ox licketh up the grass of the field." Putting the sword into their hands, he sent them everywhere with this message, "Accept Islam, pay tribute, or die the death." His kingdom was of this world, and stoutly did his servants fight for it. When he was enthroned at Mecca in 630, he had 10,000 men under his standard, all devoted Moslems, excited by promise of unlimited loot in this life and every conceivable sensual delight in the life to come. When he died he was master of Arabia, which (to use Ritter's simile) became

henceforth a living fountain of men, with streams flowing north, south, east and west. Animated at once by fanaticism and lust of conquest, 4,000,000 men (it is calculated)¹ poured out of it altogether to spoil the infidels in all the neighbouring lands, a standing army threatening the world, with but little trace of the missionary spirit as exemplified both in Christian and in Buddhist propaganda.

The tide of victory rolled on without pause. At Mohammed's death, Paganism and Zoroastrianism had already disappeared from Arabia; in 634 Islam won Syria, and ten thousand churches there are said to have been destroyed or turned into mosques; in 636 Persia, whence only a feeble remnant of Zoroastrians, ancestors of the Parsis, escaped to India; in 640 Egypt, whose Coptic Church actually welcomed the Arabs, as deliverers from the persecuting Byzantine Church; in 648 Cyprus; in 676 North Africa, the only region once Christian whose Christianity has been completely stamped out; in 700 Turkestan. Eastern Christianity thus vanquished, Tharyk, whose name is commemorated in "Gibraltar" (Jebel Tharyk) threatened Western Christianity by beginning the conquest of Spain in 711. In 712 Islam entered India, so that its domain now extended from the Pyrenees to the Indus.

But just a century after Mohammed's death, in 732, was fought the battle of Tours, which Arnold of Rugby characterised as one of the two most important battles in history,² because Charles Martel's

¹ Haines, *Islam as a Missionary Religion*.

² *Life*, vol. ii. p. 377.

victory there checked the advance of Islam once for all. In its religious issues it may be compared with Joshua's victory at Bethhoron ; for it determined the dominant creed of the dominant continent.

Elsewhere, however, Islam continued to prevail. In 740 Bokhara was subdued ; in 755 a permanent settlement was made in China, where a mosque had been built in 630. Marco Polo found Yunnan wholly Moslem 500 years later. In 832 Crete was won ; in 846 Rome itself was partially sacked and only saved by the bravery of Pope Leo IV. ; in 878 Syracuse was captured. In the tenth century Islam spread from Bokhara to Kashmir, Afghanistan, North India, and Chinese Tartary ; also to Ceylon and to the Malay Peninsula, where it has been gaining ground ever since. In 750 the original caliphate of Damascus was replaced by the caliphate of Baghdad which under Harun-al-Raschid, Charlemagne's contemporary, reached the height of its glory. In 755 the Spanish caliphate of Cordova was founded. In Spain Moslem power lasted 780 years, being at its height in 1000 ; in India it was very strong in 1000, and was to grow yet stronger. There it has lasted 1200 years.

How did Islam gain so much, and what was the force that checked it in 732 ? are the questions raised by this rapid sketch. The main causes of its success may be thus enumerated :

Mohammed had personal ascendancy and great talents. He was the "handsomest, bravest, brightest-faced, and most generous of men" is one follower's description. Estimates of his character

range from denunciation of him as a sinner and arrant impostor by mediæval writers to panegyric of him as a hero and prophet by Thomas Carlyle, Sir Richard Burton, and some other moderns. It seems clear, however, that while Buddhism compares unfavourably with Islam as a religion, comparison between its founder and Mohammed is all in favour of the Indian prince, not of the Arabian prophet, whose selfish ambition and harsh bigotry are unquestionable. "I thank the Lord, who has comforted my eyes by thy death," he exclaimed when one helpless captive was slain before him. "The fires of hell," he shouted to a fallen foe, who groaned out, mortally wounded, "Who will care for my little child when I am dead?"

Islam lived by the truth it contained. The world was ready for a clear declaration that God is and that He is One, for it was enervated by religious speculation, religious controversy, and vague religious sentiment dissociated from religious living. Disintegrated Paganism, debased Zoroastrianism, and superannuated Judaism weltered together in one confused tangle, and the light of the Gospel flickered in worn-out and unclean lamps.

Common sense and conscience both responded to Mohammed's unsparing onslaught on idolatry, which had fatally ensnared the two other missionary religions, both non-idolatrous as originally taught.

It lived also by the error it contained. Proclaiming the Living and Eternal God and personally assured of a commission from Him, Mohammed

devised an easy religion of external observances, admirably adapted to average men. This simple, straightforward creed was within their comprehension. No change of heart, no painful renunciations were demanded of them : they might please God and please themselves at the same time.

The fall of Rome had left room for a new conquering power ; and Islam's success was bound up with political supremacy. " Faith in God and in this are my principles," said Abdul Walid, touching his scimitar ; and to this day in a mosque which has been a church the mullah preaches with a naked sword in his hand. " Without war, Islam itself had not been," says Barthélémy St. Hilaire ; " When the sword was sheathed, Islam ceased to spread," says Sir William Muir. Mohammed was, in fact, exactly the type of Messiah that the Jews of our Lord's day expected and desired.¹

It was worth while to become a Moslem, both for this life and for the life to come. For if the Moslems won the battle, and survived, the infidel and all his goods were their lawful booty ; if they died fighting, entrance into Paradise was assured, however wicked their lives had been. Moreover, by professing Islam many advantages, political, ecclesiastical, and social could be gained, and even the enslaved captive could secure much better treatment.

Mohammed's followers were fired with intense conviction and religious zeal, when both were lacking in the Church. Islam's success, after all, is

¹ Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, *The Reproach of Islam*.

mainly due to the failure, not of Christianity, but of Christians. For the existence of heathenism the Church is not responsible, though it may be responsible for its continuing to exist undisturbed in many places ; but for the existence and development of Islam it is responsible, and its obligation to win the Moslem to the faith is correspondingly great. In Mohammed's earlier and better days, before gratified ambition, unchecked power, and gross self-indulgence had deteriorated his character, his uncle remonstrated with him for offending the idolaters by his preaching. " If the sun stood on my right hand and the moon on my left, bidding me be silent, I would not obey," was his fine answer. Had he then met a worthy follower of Christ the most deplorable chapter of church history might have remained unwritten. But we may judge how little the Faith was made known abroad, how overlaid with superstition it had become, from one fact : Mohammed supposed the Three Persons of the Trinity to be the Father, the Son, and the Blessed Virgin Mary. What he impugned with word and blow was but a travesty of the Gospel ; and only too often to-day the superstitions of the Oriental churches and the unworthy lives of " Christians," not always Oriental, stand between the Moslem and Christ.

The actual historical relationship between the two religions is variously stated. Dante placed Mohammed in the *Inferno* as the greatest of heretics and apostates, which was the general mediæval view ; Döllinger also defines Islam as, at bottom, a

Christian heresy ; Ewald says that it was the last and most powerful offshoot of Gnosticism ; while Carlyle makes it “ definable as a confused form of Christianity.” Most modern scholars prefer, however, to describe it, with Kuenen, as “ the kernel of Judaism transplanted to Arabian soil.” Indeed, the eternal truth of the One God was not only transplanted, but smothered, as it grew up, with husks of outworn Jewish ordinances and weak and beggarly rudiments long since discarded by Christianity. Islam’s true prototype is to be found in the blatant piety and moral obliquity of the Pharisees of the New Testament.

CHAPTER V
THE MIDDLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES,

A.D. 1000 (*continued*)

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE—LATIN CHRISTIANITY
TRIUMPHANT IN EUROPE

“Truth in all the world both hated and believed.”

KEBLE.

THROUGH whom did the failing and falling Church renew its strength after the fierce onset of the one anti-Christian religion? What was the force which rolled back the wave of Moslem invasion in the West by overcoming at Tours? The single answer to this double question recalls us to the other of the battles which Thomas Arnold called the two most important battles in history. Charles Martel's victory over the Saracens at Tours in A.D. 732 determined the dominant creed of the dominant continent; the victory of Arminius over the Roman legions under Varus on the Rhine in A.D. 9 had already determined its dominant race.

Greeks and Romans had long been vaguely aware of “barbarians” pressing on their borders; through the prophecies of Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah we catch glimpses of the terror they inspired even in the seventh century before Christ,

and recent philology and ethnology have thrown much light on the movement of this great tide of humanity flowing ever westward with the sun.

At length the barbarians swept down upon the rich lands of the decaying Roman Empire, dying, as Salvian says in his *De Gubernatione Dei*, not of bad laws or bad social order, but of bad men ; its civilisation too deeply corrupted for even the Gospel of Christ to purify it. We dare set no limit to the possibilities of regeneration in an individual soul, but a race or state may sin too deeply to be born anew, and must then be doomed to perish for the sake of humanity. The instrument of divine judgment on Rome was the invasion of the Goths and Vandals. Tacitus painted their picture in his *Germania*, and even if we assume that he somewhat exaggerated their virtues in order to shame his compatriots, we recognise in his pages vigorous young races, untamed and untainted ; with unexhausted strength and splendid potentialities ; a genuine instinct for liberty and also for law ; rudely sincere, deeply serious, devoted to duty, honouring women ; reverent to the gods as they crudely conceived them, with a religion which was (in Carlyle's expressive phrase) a consecration of valour.

At first Rome shook them off and made punitive expeditions into their territories. Their victory over Varus marked the point at which they held their own, and, after a while, as they poured into it, the hitherto expanding empire began to shrink. Then Rome tried to absorb them, and fair-haired barbarians wore the *caligæ* and bore the *pilum*,

and Gothic chiefs held incongruous office as senators and patricians.¹ Still they came on—Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Alans, Franks, Suevi, Lombards, Burgundians, Saxons, Angles, Normans, Danes, Slaves, Lithuanians, Wends, and Huns—their names written large and indelible now on the map of Europe :

“ The heathen host
Swarmed overseas, and harried what was left.
And so there grew great tracts of wilderness
Wherein the beast was ever more and more
And man was less and less, till Arthur came.”

For British Arthur's stand against Saxon heathen, chronicled by Walter Map and Sir Thomas Malory, was one small episode in that protracted struggle between the “ Romans ” of every nationality whom Roman rule had civilised and the encroaching barbarians. Arthur, idealised by two of England's supreme poets, Edmund Spenser and Alfred Tennyson, as “ the king who followed Christ,” represents the mighty spiritual force which rose from the ruins of the Roman Empire, to mould at last out of those heathen barbarians a new Christendom stronger than Eastern Christendom had ever been. The preaching, which had gathered within the Roman Empire a Church powerful enough to leaven it though not powerful enough to prevent its fall, proved not less effectual for the conquerors of that Empire. “ Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean ? ” asked Job. Man cannot, but God can ;

¹ Kingsley, *The Roman and the Teuton*.

and God has done so more than once in history. So the Church rose to its second great task, the winning of the new Europe, which was to occupy the thousand years from 380 to 1380.

Tertullian mentions some Christian Goths in the second century ; but the story of the evangelisation of the barbarians actually begins with the Cappadocian bishop Ulfilas (312-380), the " Moses of the Goths," who was twelve years old when Constantine became a Christian—so closely are the first and second eras of church history intertwined. He led the Goths into what is now Servia and Bulgaria, lands granted to them by Valens on condition of their embracing Christianity ; and " John of the Golden Mouth," the great bishop of Constantinople, encouraged him, founding an institution where Goths might be prepared to preach to their own race. With prophetic insight into the destinies of these half-savage tribes, Ulfilas translated the Bible into their language. Part of his translation, preserved at Upsala, is priceless to philologists as giving the oldest known forms of many words common to all tongues in our own family of languages ; and it is priceless to English-speaking Christians also as the earliest Scriptures in a tongue akin to ours.

Up to that time most Christians had read the Bible in Greek ; and it is a noteworthy coincidence that, while Ulfilas was preparing the precursor of the English and German Bibles (read since more widely than the Greek Bible ever was), Jerome, in his cell at Bethlehem, was toiling over the Vulgate, the translation of the Bible into Latin which our

mediæval forefathers read, and which has ever since been the Authorised Version of the Roman Church.

Rome is the only one of the five original patriarchates that survives to this day ; and in contrast to the metaphysical, inelastic, unprogressive, somnolent Oriental churches, the Roman Church showed itself practical, versatile, progressive, and alert, evangelising lands that had never been within the bounds of the Roman Empire. By A.D. 1000 Scotland and Ireland, as well as England and Wales, had become Christian ; also Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and the whole of Germany, together with Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia. In the following four hundred years Lapland, Finland, Pomerania, Prussia, and Lithuania were won, the Christianising of Lithuania in 1380 closing the thousand years' story of the winning of Europe. Many of the most eminent evangelists of these lands did not, however, go out to the barbarians from the Church of the capital, but met them in the outskirts of the empire. Ireland, Iceland, Iona, Lindisfarne, Whitby, were all missionary centres, first for the Gospel and then for learning and literature.

Using "Catholic" in its earlier historical sense of "Universal" as opposed to "national," and also in its later historical sense of "Orthodox" as opposed to "heretical," we see that Rome never before or since came so near as it did in those days to making good her exclusive claim allowed by neither East nor West to be *the* Catholic Church. It had been Liberius, Bishop of Rome, with Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, who in A.D. 355 stood out

alone against the blandishments and threats of the Arian Emperor of the East ; and after A.D. 500, Rome became the leading missionary Church in Europe.

The most familiar chapter of this history is the most typical, and second to none in importance. For one thousand years ago, in the great missionary era of Europe, Britain was not only an evangelised but an evangelising land ; and the British race was hereafter to have, in the great missionary era of the world, the most splendid opportunity and responsibility ever set before any nation.

How Christianity first reached Britain we do not know ; possibly it was from Gaul and Ephesus and through missionary-hearted soldiers in its Roman garrison, which numbered 48,000 in the first century. But that the British Church very soon became important we may infer from the presence at the Council of Arles, in A.D. 314, of the Bishops of London, York, and Caerleon, three precursors of the 330 bishops of a world-wide Anglican Communion summoned to London in 1908. A century and a half later the conquest of South Britain by Jutes, Saxons, Angles, Danes, and Normans began with the arrival of Hengist and Horsa, just before Rome was sacked for a second time by the Vandals ; it ended eight hundred years later by Edward I.'s conquest of Wales, and must be thought of as a continuous immigration into England from all the adjacent coasts ; which in the first instance thrust a wedge of heathenism between Continental and British Christendom. The beginning of *English* Christianity (as contrasted with

Christianity *in England*) dates from Augustine and Laurentius of Italy evangelising Kent, Birinus of Italy and Ægilbirt of France evangelising Wessex, Scottish missionaries from Lindisfarne and York evangelising Sussex and Mercia ; while the three remaining kingdoms of the Heptarchy, Northumbria, Anglia, and Essex, were won by the united labours of northern and southern missionaries. Augustine, an Italian in Gallican orders, and Aidan, a Scot in Irish orders, were the two founders, and Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek in orders of the Eastern Church, was the chief organiser of our own Church. So manifold is our debt as a Christian people. The following truly apostolical succession may be noted. Martin, Bishop of Tours in France, sends Ninian to Scotland ; Scotland sends Patrick to Ireland ; Ireland sends Columba to Scotland ; Scotland sends Aidan to England ; England sends Boniface to Germany.

Each of the three periods of aggressive Christianity has had its peculiar missionary agency. In the first, which won the Roman Empire, Christian and heathen were generally under the same roof. Every Christian was compelled to be either a traitor or a missionary ; and the evangelist was often on a lower level of culture than the evangelised, and was met with scorn. Records are scanty ; we can only imagine how the diffusion of the faith came through the testimony of officials or soldiers, of godly ladies teaching those who served them ; oftener, perhaps, of godly slaves teaching those whom they served.

In the second period, which won Europe, the religious orders were the main agency. Montalembert

discriminates "the monasticism of the East, which at first inundated everything, then concentrated and lost itself there, and the monasticism of the West, which spread itself by a thousand channels over an entire world which had to be covered and fertilised." We also contrast the northern monasticism, of which the foundation in A.D. 563 of the Irish prince Columba (521-97) at Iona was a fine example, with the southern monasticism of which the foundation in 529 of Benedict of Nursia (480-543) was a good instance. Here the evangelist was generally on a higher level of culture than the evangelised, bringing learning as well as spiritual light. The monastic system was vitiated by more than one unsound principle at the heart of it; and failed conspicuously later on, when, as Ruskin says,¹ "the gentlest, thoughtfulest, noblest men and women shut themselves up precisely where they could be of least use." Of these defects little is seen in the northern monks. Their labours in building and planting and taming our rude forefathers are happily likened by Dr. Thomas Smith,² to those of modern mission stations in India and the South Seas, or of Moravian settlements in South Africa or Greenland.

All the world over, Paganism dies slowly and hard. It is impossible for us to realise, says Bishop Lightfoot, the ubiquity, the obtrusiveness and the intrusiveness of Polytheism. Confucianism and Buddhism were, as originally taught, agnostic philosophies; but the most vigorous form of religion in China to-day is craven propitiation of evil spirits,

¹ *Ethics of the Dust*, p. 144.

² *Mediæval Missions*.

and in Ceylon, now the most ancient seat of Buddhism, grotesque devil-worship ; while many reckoned Hindus in the Census are still pagans pure and simple. Likewise, in many primitive Christians of the first period and mediæval Christians of the second period, as in many "native" Christians newly emerged from heathenism to-day, Paganism was cut down, rather than rooted up. The recognised peril of its persistence explains the iconoclastic controversy of the seventh century ; it survived among our own forefathers, not only in such terms as "Thursday" and "Easter," but also in much childish hagiolatry and demonology. There is encouragement here for modern missionaries who are patiently warring against its survivals ; there is also warning, from the evil results of well-meaning retention by the evangelists of Europe, of heathen times and seasons and ceremonies, a concession to inveterate beliefs and customs which hindered the cause of Christ, though it contributed to the wide superficial extension of Christianity. The Reformation of the sixteenth century might not have become necessary could the mediæval compromise with Paganism have been combated as the earlier attempt at compromise with Judaism was combated by St. Paul.

In a sense the Roman Empire conquered the Christianity which had conquered it, not only by saturating the Church with its Paganism, but also by determining the form of Europe's ecclesiastical polity. "The Papacy," as Thomas Hobbes acutely

remarked, "is but the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof." It dates from the donation to the Roman See of Pepin, son of Charles Martel, in 755, the year in which the Moslem caliphate was divided between Baghdad and Cordova; and it was Islam which indirectly consolidated the Papal power by destroying Eastern and terrorising Western Christendom, and so driving men to regard as the "Castle of Unity," the Church whose chief bishop had become a temporal prince, and to rally round the Roman See in order to show a united front to the common foe. "The power which earlier emperors had dreaded, as threatening to disintegrate the empire, developed into an ecclesiastical reproduction of the imperial system, which welded together the States that rose on Rome's ruins."¹

In A.D. 1000 the Papacy, under the able Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), attained the height of its power. Many heirs of the Reformation make it a matter of conscience to regard that power on its worst side only, so it may be well to quote the sober words of Ranke, the great historian, and of Dr. S. L. Gulick, a well-known American Congregationalist missionary in Japan, for they are men whose wide historical study and practical work abroad lift them out of the dust-cloud of current controversy.

"There is a spirit of community in the modern world which has always been regarded as the basis of its progressive improvement, whether in

¹ Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*.

religion, politics, manners, social life, or literature. To bring about this community, it was necessary that the Western nations should at one period constitute what may be called a single politico-ecclesiastical State.”¹

“That the powerful Roman Church was a great blessing to Europe few, I think, will deny. But for its preservation to modern Europe of Christianity, even of ancient Greek and Roman civilisation, would hardly have been accomplished.”²

Six hundred years after Christ all the three missionary religions were actively and successfully aggressive, achieving their most permanent and substantial gains. While Buddhism was winning Korea, Ulfilas was winning the Goths; Buddhism was established in Burma while Patrick was evangelising Ireland, and in Japan while Columba was evangelising Scotland; while it advanced into Central Asia, Theodore was organising the Church of England. Yet more significant is the coincidence that Mohammed’s contemporaries in the West were Gregory, Bishop of Rome, Columba of Iona, Augustine of Canterbury, and Aidan of Lindisfarne. Those who to-day belittle the conquests of the Cross over pagan barbarians would have asked, 1,300 years ago, “How can the conversion of these barbarians, who have wasted the Western Empire, compensate for the loss of the Church’s fairest heritage to the Arabs, who have wasted the Eastern Empire?” Time has, however, shown that

¹ Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. i. p. 22.

² Gulick, *The Growth of the Kingdom of God*, ch. iii.

the rise in the East of the most formidable and irreconcilable foe Christendom has ever withstood coincided in the West with the most notable victories that the Cross has ever won.

A Church built up out of foreign, even servile elements, at last dominated the Roman Empire ; a Church built up out of the scorned barbarians who crushed that Empire produced in the Frankish prince, Charles Martel, a champion by whom Islam's advance was arrested ; and eight hundred years after developed a type of Christianity free from the traditionalism, superstition, and tendency to idolatry which weakened Oriental and Latin Christianity, a type vigorous and spiritual enough to influence all nations to-day. The monarch of one of these once barbarian peoples now rules over more than one-third of all the Moslems in the world ; the Church of which he is a member is making a deeper impression on Islam than any church has done hitherto.

Bishop Montgomery remarks that one or other of two forces may be expected to bring about a new era in human life : a fresh admixture of blood producing a new race, or a new religion.¹ It was a new race—our own ancestors—who turned the tide of Moslem invasion, and renewed the Church's strength, through developing a new phase of the Christian religion.

¹ *Mankind and the Church. Introduction.*

CHAPTER VI
THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A.D. 1500

MOHAMMEDANISM AT ITS ZENITH—CHRISTIANITY
DORMANT—THE NEW WORLD—THE EVE OF
THE REFORMATION.

“A Church asleep is Satan’s most powerful weapon.”
—ERSKINE OF LINLATHEN.

THE American and Australasian continents are still Pagan in 1500, with most of Africa, but no longer quite unknown, for an entirely fresh chapter in the story of mankind is beginning—mediæval is passing into modern history.

Karl Ritter marked off three stages of civilisation : *Potamic*, when Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, dwelling beside great *rivers*—the Tigris, Euphrates, and Nile—took the lead ; *Thalassic*, when Greece and Rome, dwelling on the shores of the Mediterranean *Sea*, took the lead, as Italy continued to do through the Middle Ages ; *Oceanic*, when the States on the shores of the Atlantic *Ocean*—Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States—took the lead, and the Atlantic replaced the Mediterranean as the highway of nations.

Three events—the greatest since the Christian era—mark the transition from the second to the third stage, the end of the Dark Ages and of the long reign of Italy as the inner court of the house of mankind. Three new worlds—material, intellectual, and spiritual—are thrown open to the wondering eyes of men almost simultaneously.

In 1492 Christopher Columbus, an Italian under Spanish patronage, discovers the West Indies—earnest of the New World of the West; and the Pillars of Hercules, where Europe and Africa all but meet, are left behind by the adventurous mariner, no longer complaining—

“Before me

Gleamed that untravelled world whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move”

(TENNYSON, *Ulysses*).

In 1498 Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, doubles the Cape of Good Hope and discovers a new sea route to the Old World of the East; so that Islam no longer shuts Europe off from Asia by barring the old overland route.

Not until after 1500 is the importance of these discoveries seen. Columbus dies, believing that he has knocked at the back door of Asia, quite unaware that he has pushed open the front door of America. His delusion is perpetuated in the confusing designation “Indians,” for the natives of the New World, and in such a local name as “La Chine” near Montreal. The extent to which men’s imaginations and ambitions are stimulated

as the unguessed vastness of the material world looms up before them is reflected in Shakespeare's *Tempest* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

Fifty years before Columbus finds America (in 1440) printing has been invented, and in 1453 fugitive scholars from fallen Constantinople have brought to western Europe hitherto unknown treasures of Greek thought. The Renaissance follows, when Greek disputes the supremacy of Latin in the domain of culture, and the New Lands and the New Learning co-operate with wide-spread religious awakening to bring about the New Light. Western as well as Eastern Christendom challenges the claims of the ecclesiastical metropolis on the Tiber, and half the nations of Europe deny that "Roman" and "Catholic" are synonyms. Christian theology overleaps the bounds of Papal dogma; as Christendom is preparing to overleap the bounds of the old Roman Empire.

Ere we consider the results of all this for Christian Missions we glance at Buddhism, concerning which there is little to record between 1000 and 1500 but slow decay, attributable, according to Barth, to its own senility rather than to active opposition; and also at Islam, which has filled a large place in history. To our ancestors, Islam stood, a near and terrible foe, for all the forces of heathenism and unbelief; as we may judge from Shakespeare's word for idol ("mammet"), being a corruption of the prophet's name, and from Spenser's "Sansfoy" being a "faithless Sarazin." Just eighty years

after Mohammed's death it entered simultaneously Spain and India, and in both places its imposing power went on growing for centuries. It held Sicily for 100 years (878-978) and Spain for 780 years; then the fall of Granada, in the year America was discovered (1492), brought about its expulsion thence. Forty years earlier, this impending disaster in South-west Europe was balanced by a dazzling gain in South-eastern Europe. In 1453, the year in which the art of printing was fully developed, Islam won its latest notable victory in the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and for the last four centuries and a half the third peninsula of the Mediterranean has been Moslem. In 1517, the year in which Martin Luther inaugurated the Reformation, the Ottoman Sultan Selim I. purchased the rights of the last titular Caliph of Baghdad as the head of Islam. The Shiite Persians and the Sultan of Morocco, as descendant of Mohammed's daughter, dispute his pontificate, but the rest of the Moslem world acknowledges it. Turning to Asia, and back to the days when Richard Cœur de Lion ruled England, and the Turks were still a wandering heathen horde in Tartary, we see foundations being laid after the battle of Narayan in 1193 of the mighty Moslem Empire in India, which in name at any rate lasted till 1857. The conquest of India, begun in 712, had been slowly achieved, and when we read of the Arabs slaying all Brahmans over seventeen years of age, and of a widowed Ranee placing herself at the head of her valiant Rajputs, and perishing

by fire with her children and her ladies that they might not fall alive into the invaders' hands, our sympathies are with the heathen rather than with the blood-stained propagandists of Monotheism. Islam entered Turkestan in 1300, Mongolia soon after, Sumatra in 1346, Java in 1478, the Celebes in 1500, and towards the end of the sixteenth century reached Macassar just in time to forestall the Portuguese. Then it stagnated, and, though it once more advances against Paganism in the present day, it has never prevailed against Christianity, or even Buddhism and Hinduism, since its fighting power waned.

Turning to Christendom between 1000 and 1500, we see the Oriental Churches barely surviving. In 1350 many of the Copts accepted Islam, and even in Europe apostasy was common. Eight out of ten Viziers of Turkey between 1520 and 1572 were renegades.

With the earlier stories of such missionaries as Patrick, Ninian, David, Kentigern, Cuthbert, Columbanus, and Fridolin, armed with the sword of the Spirit only, the later chapters in the conversion of Europe compare unfavourably. Newly baptized rulers urged their subjects to conform to the religion they had adopted, and, unlike St. Paul, who almost rejoiced that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble were called, missionaries attached great importance to the conversion of a monarch; general acquiescence in Christian teaching took the place of personal acceptance of the message of salvation, so that the succession

of a heathen prince might involve the apostasy of a whole people. Coercion by kings and conquerors followed. In 988 Vladimir summoned his Russians to be baptized in the river on pain of being proclaimed rebels if they refused ; German conquerors emphasised the sermons of Vicelin and Gerold to the Wends with their swords in 1045 ; Hungarians were offered the alternative of baptism or serfdom in 1077 ; Prussians, after fifty years of war, the alternative of baptism or banishment in 1280 ; Lithuanians crowded to the font because their prince had wedded a Christian Polish princess in 1380. Mediæval ideas with regard to the non-Christian world are only too faithfully mirrored in *The Merchant of Venice* when Antonio stipulates that Shylock should "presently become a Christian," as if compulsory profession were of any value. "Rice Christians" must have been more numerous then, and even less satisfactory, than they are now according to the severest critics of modern missions. And yet the last heathen land in Europe had been won, and the slow process of making a Christianised country really Christian could begin.

And then the first two periods of missionary enterprise gave place to a time in which "it seemed as if the angel of the everlasting Gospel had folded his wings."¹ Europe was content to keep its faith to itself ; was loving its life and losing it, as Oriental Christendom had already done. Ground had been lost, and for two centuries no fresh ground was

¹ Dean's Farrar's Address to Students at Glasgow.

won. Two contrasted episodes in missionary history may bring out the import of this.

In 1875 an intrepid traveller through Central Africa, Sir Henry M. Stanley, sent to Britain an appeal for Christian teaching from Mtesa, King of Uganda. Promptly the Church of England answered that appeal, with the result that in one generation a strong Church of over 70,000 members has been built up there, with over 100 European missionaries, 30 African clergy, and over 2,000 African Christian teachers, a Church which promises to be a light-bearer to the whole of Central Africa.

In 1270 an intrepid traveller through Central Asia, Marco Polo, sent to Italy an appeal for a hundred Christian teachers from Kublai Khan, ruler of one of the largest empires ever seen. He offered to be baptized, with all the barons and chiefs of China. In answer, the Church of Rome sent two little bands of monks, only six of whom reached their destination. For over fifteen years John di Monte Corvino, of Apulia, not a great but a quietly good man, preached Christ alone in Pekin, joined later by Arnold of Köln. He is said to have baptized over 5,000 people, but for lack of reinforcements the work fell through, and in the revolution of 1368 every trace of Christianity vanished. China might have been won under her greatest emperor had Rome been as missionary-hearted in the thirteenth century as it was both before and after that period.

Meanwhile, zeal for Christ and His cause outside Christendom expressed itself in efforts to rescue the tomb which had held Him for three days from those

who did not believe in Him. The Crusaders, going not to convert but to humble the Moslem, sharpened their swords against the sword of Islam ; and, according to Fraser Tytler's estimate, some two millions of them found foreign graves in the East between 1095 and 1270, in seven successive Crusades. Ambitions altogether earthly may have taken many of these to the East ; yet the purer devotion warming the heart of not a few Crusaders is exemplified by the dying charge to his doughty Douglas of King Robert the Bruce, who had already won the highest earthly renown as the deliverer of his country ; or by the expedition of the saintly King Louis IX., in whom the crusading spirit reached its highest level.

There were, however, even in this Dark Age two witnesses before a dormant Church and an unheeding world to the unrescinded commission of Christ, who kept the almost extinct flame of missionary zeal burning ; and no nobler names stand out in all the annals of Christendom than those of the Italian friar, Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), and the Spanish scholar, Raimund Lully (1236-1314). The Saracens besieged in Damietta by the crusading Franks had set a price on every Christian's head when Francis went to their camp, and boldly declared to the Sultan himself the way of salvation. Lully, converted to Christ from the idle life of a worldly young noble, wrote a famous treatise to convince Moslems of the truth, established missionary colleges, and in his eightieth year crossed into Africa, and was stoned to death as he fearlessly

preached to them in June 1314. Had he lived six hundred years earlier or later he might have ranked second to St. Paul only as a missionary.

Until 1453 Constantinople, to the inestimable gain of Christendom, had held the Moslem at bay, and preserved intellectual wealth whose dispersion would rouse Europe from utter lethargy of thought. "Plato lived again to join the ranks of the Reformers." At first the flood of illumination from strong ancient civilisations turned men's brains, and threatened to sweep away all old beliefs. "How useful this fable of Christ has been to us!" the official head of Christendom is said to have remarked to a confidant; and Erasmus writes in 1535: "We daily hear men deploring the decay of the Christian religion, who say that the Gospel message which once extended over the whole earth is now confined to the narrow limits of this land." Observing Buddhism irretrievably waning, Islam practically at the close of its conquering career, Christianity stationary for two hundred years and apparently sick unto death at home, one of the polished sceptics of that age could easily have demonstrated that the three missionary religions were all played out; that religion itself was doomed, for the world had outgrown it. So men speak to-day, when to the East European lore proves as intoxicating intellectually as Greek lore proved to Europe four hundred years ago.

But ultimately the New Learning was to prove constructive. In Goldwin Smith's fine image, Greece rose again from the dead with the New Testament

in her hand. By his edition of it in 1516 Erasmus had furbished and sharpened afresh the sword of the Spirit ; through the new scholarship the old truth would shine out undimmed ; the Church would shake off the clinging robes of superstition disguising and trammelling it ; would start up in new strength for the conversion of the newly-known world.

Once again, however, the course of events was wholly unexpected, foreseen neither by the unbeliever anticipating the downfall of the Faith, nor by the believer anticipating the Reformation.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONFLICT FOR THE WORLD

A.D. 1800

MOHAMMEDANISM WANING—LATIN CHRISTIANITY
MILITANT—REFORMED CHRISTIANITY DORMANT
—CLOSED DOORS AND QUENCHED HOPES.

“If even the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?”—LUKE xiv. 34.

WE are now within sight of the third task set before the Church, and observe that, whereas the stories of the Rise, Zenith, and Decline of Buddhism and Islam are simple, the story of Christendom has a threefold complexity, corresponding to three successive phases or types of Christianity, each with its own racial, geographical, and theological characteristics (see Table, p. 50). First, the *Greek*, or *Eastern*, or “*Orthodox*” Church, with the *Septuagint* for its Bible; the *Early Church*, which won the *Roman Empire* during the four hundred years from the Day of Pentecost to the downfall of Paganism. Secondly, the *Latin*, or *Roman*, or “*Catholic*” Church, with the *Vulgate* for its Bible; the *Mediæval Church*, which won *Europe*, during the thousand years from Ulfilas to the conversion of Lithuania.

Thirdly, the *Teutonic*, or *Western*, or “*Evangelical*” Church, using *vernacular Bibles* of which the English and the German are the most famous ; the *Modern* Church, whose endeavour to win the *World* is barely a century old.

Of the size of the three fields to be won we can only say that the population of the Roman Empire was about 85,000,000 ; that Europe, without Russia, hardly equals India in extent, and must in the early Middle Ages have been far less populous than India is now ; and that there are about 1,000,000,000 non-Christians to-day. We also note Roman missions going on side by side with Reformed in the World, and already four hundred years old. And while we may use three famous theological terms in their limited conventional sense, we should do violence to history and theology alike if we forget that literally they stand for complementary, not contradictory, aspects of the one faith ; that, wherever Christianity is adequately taught, it must be at once Orthodox and Catholic and Evangelical.

Tracing out once again the close connexion between political and religious conditions, we perceive more clearly than contemporaries could do how important to Europe all that lies beyond Europe gradually became. The idea of subjugating these newly discovered realms only gave place slowly to the idea of evangelising them ; and the great era of discovering, subjugating, and evangelising was the nineteenth century. What, then, are the relations of Europe to the rest of the world in 1800 ?

Africa, for the white man, is but a coast-line round a continent, of whose interior the Nile Valley only is partially known, through James Bruce, though Mungo Park has begun to explore the Niger. In 1788 the newly formed African Association puts forth this amazing statement: "Africa stands alone in a geographical sense. Penetrated by no inland seas, nor overspread with extensive lakes, like those of North America; nor having, in common with other continents, rivers running from the centre to the extremities."

Two hundred years earlier the Dutch had reached Australia and called it New Holland. Captain Cook explored its east coast in 1776, and made acquaintance with the South Sea Islands, of whose existence Spaniards had become aware in 1606. Little more than the coast of South America has been mapped; and of the western half of North America nothing except the Pacific coast is known. Vast tracts of Central, Northern, and South-eastern Asia are also quite unknown.

As to religious condition, some transient missionary enterprise has begun and ended in Africa, but it is still a wholly Pagan continent, with a Moslem north coast, except for the isolated relics of the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches, and a few white men at the Cape of Good Hope, which becomes British in 1806. Most of the aborigines of North and South America, and all the aborigines of Australasia are Pagan, while Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Paganism divide Asia, save for some small and unprosperous churches in India, where

the East India Company dreads and discourages Christian teaching.

In 1800, the population of the world is estimated at 960,000,000, and the number of Christians in it at 174,000,000 ; for, with the exception of European colonies in North and South America, and of the moribund Eastern churches, all the Christians in the world are in Europe. Since 1614 Japan has been straitly shut up as no land ever was before or since, and all over it this placard is conspicuous : " So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan ; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all, if He violate this command, shall pay for it with his head." Foreigners are rigidly excluded, with the exception of a few Dutch permitted to trade at a little island near Nagasaki, on condition of proving that they are not Christians by trampling on a crucifix. In China also Christianity has been absolutely proscribed for seventy-six years. Canton is the only town where any European merchants are permitted, and that only under severe restrictions. The teacher of the first Protestant missionary there carries poison about with him that he may commit suicide if he is discovered, death being the penalty for teaching a foreigner Chinese.

Missionary enterprise by the Roman Church there has been on a large scale, but it has resulted in acknowledged failure. Scarcely a trace of it remains in Africa ; and after 280 years of effort in India, the Abbé Dubois, one of the most earnest and

experienced of the Jesuit missionaries there, writes in 1823 : “ In my opinion, the Hindus will remain after another thousand years as they were a thousand years ago. . . . I repeat it with deep sorrow, in my humble opinion—an opinion grounded on twenty-five years of experience—the time of conversion has passed away, and, under existing circumstances, there remains no human possibility to bring it back. . . . By obstinately rejecting the Word of God, which has been in vain announced to them during these last three or four centuries, they have filled up the measure of their fathers, have been entirely forsaken of God, and . . . given over for ever to a reprobate mind.”

Apart from Roman missions, there are in 1784 scarcely half a dozen missionary societies and about twenty mission stations in the world, manned by less than 200 missionaries, more than half of them Moravians. Not a single British missionary is to be found in any part of Asia or Africa ; nor a single Anglican bishop outside Britain. The Bible has only been translated into fifty-six languages, more than twenty of them dead. As for results in India, the most important and actually the most fully worked field, let us add to the Abbé’s testimony the testimony of another man of learning and judgment, who would gladly have come to a different conclusion. In his *Evidences of Christianity*,¹ published 1794, Archdeacon Paley develops, with his usual vigorous marshalling of indisputable facts, an argument to show that miraculous aid must have

¹ Pt. II. ch. ix. sec. 2.

been given to the Apostles, for, in view of the little progress which Christianity has made since, we can only account for their success by acknowledging that they possessed means of producing conviction which we have not. He quotes, and fully endorses, a remark that there is reason to think that more were converted by the apostles in one day than have since been won over in a thousand years; and concludes that present-day missions only exhibit the feebleness and inadequacy of human means. This argument, so inconceivable in any twentieth-century writer, is supported by careful statistics showing that in the East Indies thirty, and sometimes forty persons, principally children, are baptized in a year; that there are not 12,000 Indian Christians altogether, and these almost entirely outcastes.

Christendom, strangely changed from the Christendom of 1500, stands tremblingly on the defensive. Voltaire (1674-1778) has scoffed that "twelve men were needed to start Christianity on its career, but it will need one man only to destroy it"; and, far from this hater of the Lord being found a liar, the French Revolution threatens to make his prediction good. The King of France, distinguished as "the eldest son of the Church," for his predecessor Clovis had been the first Christian sovereign in Western Europe, has been put to death by his rebellious subjects, and at the same time they have defied and insulted the Christian Faith by profaning their metropolitan cathedral with a blasphemous worship of "the goddess of Reason." And this revolted France is pouring out her conquering armies far

and wide and plunging the whole Continent into a war of very doubtful issue.

We must go back to the sixteenth century to comprehend how religion has fallen so low ; for what reason Western Christendom, like Eastern and Latin before it, has proved faithless to the Great Commission.

The Reformation released the Faith from the incubus of unscriptural doctrines and observances with which it had been overlaid ; and strongly asserted the personal relation between God and each soul. Accustomed to think of non-Roman States as dominating Europe to-day, we must remember that, 350 years ago, the States that remained unreformed were the dominating ones. When the Armada sailed, for instance, Spain probably had ten times the population of England and Wales ; it now has little more than half their population.

Threatened or actual invasions of the Turk, for which the whole strength of the Holy Roman Empire was claimed, had secured wide-spread allegiance to the Papal See and thus saved Protestantism in its infancy by diverting attention from it.¹ The first great check to the Turk was the battle of Lepanto (1571), fought within a few months of the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by Pius V. ; the Turk's aggression in Europe was finally ended by his repulse from Vienna (1683), which almost coincided with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Revolution which secured

¹ Grant's *Religions of the World*, ch. i.

a Protestant succession to the British throne. The century between these events saw the final division of Europe into Papist and Protestant, and the breaking up of Reformed Christendom into various bodies; even as the prolonged menace of Islam, in earlier days, had seen the unification of European Christendom.

One result of the Reformation was that Rome set its house in order, reforming discipline, but reaffirming and emphasising at the Council of Trent (1545-63) all the doctrines which the Reformers challenged. Three years before that Council met, three years also before the death of Luther, Francis Xavier, the greatest of Roman Catholic missionaries, inaugurated modern Roman missions—another indirect result of the Reformation. For Rome desired to balance loss in the Old World by gain in the New; and also to prove itself the true Church by showing itself an aggressive Church. In those days Roman polemic often reproached Protestantism with having no foreign missions. It was the two nations most devoted to the Roman See who began to reap the harvest of the New World, when the Pope formally bestowed all that should be discovered to the West on Spain and all that should be discovered to the East on Portugal, thus halving the globe between them.

Spain had now become the leading Power in Christendom, and seven hundred years' strife against the Moslem at home, crowned at last with success, left a deep conviction that war against "infidels," in one form or other, was the first duty of

a Spanish Christian. "The typical Spaniard of the sixteenth century was not in strictness a fanatic : he was bigotry incarnate."¹ This accounts for their curious perversion of religious sentiment (shown, for instance, in Lopez de Vega's *Devotion to the Cross*), for the awful barbarities of Spain in the New World, and for the *auto da fé*—all used to this day by the cheaper sort of infidelity as a weapon against Christianity. Roman Catholics did these things not because of their Christianity, but in spite of it ; they were traditions from the intolerance of heathen Rome, which had made death the penalty for not worshipping the gods ; and with the Spaniards, in whom this persecuting spirit reached its climax, they were lessons learned during their subjection to the Moor. As the gentle and merciful spirit of the Buddha leaves its impress on the "mild Hindu" who cast out Buddhism, so the fierce and merciless spirit of Mohammed left its impress on the Spaniard who repudiated and triumphed over his creed.

On August 15th, 1534, the year in which Luther finished his translation of the Bible, and the Church of England finally asserted its independence of Rome, the greatest Roman missionary order, the Society of Jesus, was founded. Ignatius Loyola, a gallant Spanish noble who had renounced the world, collected five like-minded friends, in the crypt of St. Denis on the height of Montmartre overlooking Paris, where they bound themselves with the three usual monastic vows, adding a fourth by which they undertook to convert the infidels in the Holy Land.

¹ Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*.

One of the six was Francis Xavier, a young soldier descended from the kings of Navarre, whom Loyola had won from all worldly ambition, by asking the Saviour's question, "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" So he went forth as a missionary, laboured for ten years in India, Ceylon, Malacca, and Japan, and died in 1552 at Macao, endeavouring to enter China. "The devil had no greater enemy in the world than our saint," his biographer, Father Faber, quaintly observed. In India he is said to have baptized so many that his arms sank exhausted, and his voice failed for weariness. He was fired by passionate devotion to his order, also by passionate devotion to Christ. "I am persuaded," he wrote, "that those who truly love the cross of Christ esteem a life thus passed in affliction to be a happy one, and regard an avoidance of the cross or an exemption from it as a kind of death. For what death is more bitter than to live without Christ when once we have tasted His preciousness?" But the expression he uses, "*feci Christianos*," is suggestive; for his method was the unsatisfactory, wholesale method of the Middle Ages, and he knew no Indian language. Of him Bishop Cotton, metropolitan of India from 1857 to 1866, writing to Dean Stanley, says: "While Xavier deserves the title of the apostle of India for his energy, self-sacrifice, and piety, I consider his whole method thoroughly wrong, and its results in India and Ceylon deplorable."

His method compares, however, favourably with those of his successors, who went forth in the spirit

of the Papal proclamation that "the enemy must be converted or destroyed."

In 1622 Gregory XV., the first Jesuit pupil who became Pope, founded the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at Rome, and in 1627 the Collegio de Propaganda Fide, foundation of a Spanish noble who gave his all for the training of missionaries, was added to it; in 1663 the Société des Missions Étrangères, the largest Roman missionary organisation, was founded at Paris. Many religious orders took up the work, occupying a wide field, in the days when the Jesuits boasted "*Nulla regio terræ quæ non plena nostræ laboris.*"

Their most striking success was in Japan, where (according to Japanese statistics) they won nearly a million converts in fifty years, a gain compensating, says one Jesuit, for the obstinate heresy of England. Then came discovery of a plot by a prominent Christian to betray his country, and suspicion that the foreigners' real aim was to subjugate Japan to Spain and Portugal led to violent expulsion of all missionaries and pitiless persecution of all Christians in 1614. The heroic constancy of many thousands of Japanese martyrs is the most glorious part of the story, as its most shameful part is the share taken in slaying them by the Dutch, animated no doubt by still smouldering enmity to Rome, which the cruelties of Alva in the Netherlands only one generation before had kindled. When, fifty years ago, Japan was opened again, traditions were found of the Faith passed on secretly, though

dimly understood, from parent to child for two hundred and fifty years.

"The idea of Christian, not to say the word Christian, does not once occur in Chinese annals, from 1368 to 1644," says Professor Parker¹; and he infers from this the total disappearance of early Nestorian Christianity. Very little trace was left either of John di Monte Corvino's devoted labour, when in 1582 the Italian Ricci arrived, followed later on by the German Schaal and the Dutch Verbiest.² These three able Jesuits, the last of whom enjoyed greater favour from the Chinese Emperor than any other foreigner has ever enjoyed, laboured successively till 1688, and by 1698 there were in China (according to Parker) 300,000 Christians, some of them of high degree. Then the Pope refused the Jesuits' petition that a Chinese liturgy should be prepared and that the Chinese Christians should be permitted to celebrate ancestral rites, and issued a bull strongly condemning them. The emperor, seeing that the question raised was that of his own control over his subjects, said that no one should preach without his licence, and that no one who disapproved ancestral rites should have it, and expelled all the missionaries. In China also an uncounted number of martyrs sealed their faith with their blood; and from 1724 to 1858 Christianity was proscribed.

The Abbé Dubois describes Xavier as entirely disheartened by the apparent impossibility of

¹ *China and Religion.*

² A. H. Smith, *The Uplift of China.*

making real converts in India. His successors resorted first to force, then to fraud. In 1560 the Portuguese set up the Inquisition at Goa, putting to death not only Jews and Moslems, but Syrian Christians. Their power was overthrown by the Dutch within ten years of their burning alive, in 1654, the Metran (or metropolitan) of the Syrian Church. A hundred years after Xavier the Italian Jesuit, Roberto di Nobili, appeared at Madura in the garb of a Hindu ascetic, and announced that the Jesuits were descended from Brahma and were an older line than the Brahmans. De Brito, one of his followers, forged a fifth Veda in Sanskrit characters, setting forth Christianity as the true development of Hinduism ; and presently reckoned up 30,000 converts. A Papal Bull in 1745 denounced his methods, and in 1784 (according to Dubois) 60,000 Christians apostatised *en masse* at the bidding of Tippu Sahib.

It was on the Congo, where Portuguese missionaries arrived in 1491, that Roman missions were probably seen at their worst. Bishops blessed the slave-ships that sailed thence for Brazil and the West Indies ; and some crucifixes and relics, strangely mixed with native fetiches, were the only relics to be found in 1816 of two hundred years of Roman missionary work there.

It was in Paraguay that they were seen at their best. There the Jesuits ruled, from 1586 to 1767, a community of some 250,000 Indians, teaching them industry with absolute but mild authority. But when the Jesuits were expelled their converts

relapsed into idolatry, and the whole patiently reared fabric went to pieces.

If China and Japan produced the most heroic native Christians, Canada certainly had the most heroic missionaries. A very large proportion of the Jesuits there died as martyrs, commonly under terrible tortures from which they never flinched ; and we may be sure that their lives were not laid down in vain. A large proportion of the Red-men in Eastern Canada to-day are Roman Catholics.

For 250 years after the Reformation Roman zeal put to shame Protestant apathy. But as this summary of its unsatisfactory results might be used to argue that subsequent Protestant missions, even if promising now, may be as transient in their effects, the ungracious task of criticism is thrust on us. For if their methods compare unfavourably with Protestant methods, we are still free to hope that Protestant results may compare favourably with their results. Some of the mistakes they made were made by Protestants also in earlier days ; some of them are now condemned by Roman and Protestant alike, under the teaching of longer experience. In the following rapid summary, they will be suggested by incidents rather than formally described.

They aimed at conformity rather than conversion. Mr. Schaffer tells this story. " You must become a Christian, or I cannot let you marry this Christian," said a priest, less than twenty years ago, to a man in South India. He agreed to attend Mass, pay his dues, and fast

on Fridays. Presently the priest called on Friday and rebuked him for eating meat. "You took me, a heathen, into the church," he replied, "sprinkled a little water on me, and called me a Christian. I have sprinkled water on this and called it fish; so it is meat no longer." The baptisms of pagan children at the point of death reported by the Jesuit Mission at Shanghai for 1898 numbered 41,000. Baptism of such infants, even against the parents' will, has always been a conspicuous feature of their work.

They did not give their converts the vernacular Bible which, as history plainly teaches, alone guarantees the preservation of the Church through storms of persecution and its revival in times of spiritual decline. A few years ago the contents of two abandoned loads strewed the ground on the caravan route to Uganda; Luganda Gospels on their way to the C.M.S. missionaries contrasted with plaster images, crucifixes, and outlandish pictures of saints on their way to the Roman missionaries.¹ Later on, however, the Roman Baganda, noting the eager delight of their Protestant compatriots in the Scriptures, prevailed on Bishop Hirth to give them a New Testament also, "with notes drawn from the holy Fathers." A Japanese Bible is being prepared, and some years ago an Arabic Bible with explanatory notes was issued by Roman missionaries in Palestine, since the Moslems have shown that they think little of a religion that uses no sacred book.²

¹ Bishop Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda*.

² Sir W. Dawson, *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, p. 387.

Their teaching was weighted with ancient traditions, outworn superstitions, unauthenticated marvels, and mediæval fables. Some years ago a refined and educated Japanese, who had worked his way to London as a stoker, came to the Japanese Embassy, asking for help to get to Spain. For he desired to visit the shrine of Santiago di Compostella, and to go on to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin at Lourdes, and then to Rome and Jerusalem. This devout pilgrim had been carefully instructed in the apocryphal visit to Spain of the son of Zebedee, who was martyred fourteen years after the Resurrection, and the equally apocryphal apparition of our Lord's Mother to a French peasant girl in 1858.

Their converts were children not expected to grow up to independence, but ruled absolutely from Rome. Vigorous native churches cannot develop and persist under such conditions.

Force too often replaced persuasion, the setting up of the Inquisition in South India, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Mexico, and South America being the worst example of this. They earned the reproach of the Jansenist Arnaud that they had changed *gladium oris* into *os gladii*.

They resorted to imposture and trickery. The methods of the Madura mission, the most notable instance of this, were indeed condemned by the Vatican; but the fraudulent insertion of clauses favourable to Roman clergy by the Abbé Delamarre, in the French treaty with China in 1860, is a modern example of the same system.

The fatal principle of compromise with

heathenism is illustrated again and again. "You may co-operate at the worship of idols, provided you address your devotions to a cross covered with flowers, or secretly attached to one of the temple candles," said Ricci; and we have already referred to his compromise with ancestor worship, which Chinese Christians are now unanimous in regarding as incompatible with Christianity. In India to-day, Roman converts live and act, so far as caste is concerned, as if they were still unbaptized, retaining even their caste-marks.

Xavier said that the spreading of the Faith should be inculcated on each viceroy and governor as more their duty than that of any ecclesiastic, and Rome has ever since relied on state aid. The pressure put on the Chinese Government by the French Legation in 1899 to confer official rank on Roman bishops and priests—a privilege unanimously refused by Protestant missionaries—is a recent instance of this. The religious neutrality of the British authorities in India has, on the other hand, been justified by long experience.

As certain of the above examples of mistaken methods are quite modern, it is fair to add that, judged by Mgr. Reynaud's very interesting *Notes on the Celestial Empire as viewed by a Catholic Bishop*, some, at any rate, of Rome's present-day missionaries are wiser than their predecessors. He looks forward to a native ecclesiastic at the head of the Church in China, and insists that the kind of conversion aimed at should include a complete change of life along with a change in one's beliefs.

The fact remains that, for all Rome's great resources and far-reaching effort, and for all her able and devoted missionaries, little result was to be seen in 1800. In earlier days Nestorian Christianity had failed because it did not hold the Faith in its integrity ; Roman Christianity failed because it overlaid the Faith with error, and compromised with heathenism.

But the question that now confronts us is, Why was not Reformed Christianity winning the world before 1880, or even attempting to do so ?

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONFLICT FOR THE WORLD

A.D. 1800 (*continued*)

THE AWAKENING OF REFORMED CHRISTIANITY— THE EVE OF THE GREAT MISSIONARY AGE

“He only who forgets to hoard
Has learned to live.”

KEBLE.

“You are not a Catholic,” says the Roman to the Protestant, who retorts, “And you are not Evangelical.” Both reproaches were true in Reformation days, for the Church that is not carrying out her Great Commission is neither Catholic nor Evangelical, in the literal sense of these words. Romanism became missionary soon, but Protestantism, refusing to be evangelistic, inevitably ceased to be evangelical, and eventually hardened into a cold, repellent negation. What were the causes of this? We cannot reply that Protestants were not in contact with heathenism, for Dutch and English adventurers sailed all seas disputing the Pope’s donation of the world to Spain and Portugal.

One cause was preoccupation with controversy at home, which made men forget that the only

effectual way to cleanse and defend the Church is to help it to do its main work. Like the polemical Christians who were the ruin of the Eastern Church, the sons of the Reformation too often spent their strength in wranglings with Rome and with each other, and, through embittered combat over non-essentials, lost sight of essentials. Another cause was their interpretation of the prophecies in Holy Scripture. In A.D. 500, amid the wreck of the Roman world, many Christians were convinced that they were living in the last days. In A.D. 1000, when Europe, outwardly Christian, was only beginning to learn of Christ, when the original Christendom was overwhelmed by Islam, when the rest of the world was living as if Christ had never died, a wrong interpretation of the Apocalyptic statement concerning the reign for a thousand years of Christ and His saints led so many to believe that the end was at hand that crowds flocked to meet the returning Saviour, leaving their fields unsown. In A.D. 1500, the crash of old institutions seemed once more to portend the final judgment. The Reformers asserted that the heathen had had their opportunity once for all when the Apostles preached, had missed it, and were doomed accordingly ; that the Turks (or Moslems) were irreclaimable enemies by whom God visited the sins of Christendom ; neither could therefore be won. " Much less do I go about with the notion that the Jews can ever be converted ; that is impossible," wrote Luther. And so his Commentary on Romans breaks off before chapter ix.,

and the man who had understood its first half so well that he made it a new and living message to men, remained blind and deaf to its last part and to the Church's marching orders. He went so far as to say that "it really is the Devil himself who has led to the belief that the whole world will become Christian."¹ "Asia and Africa have no Gospel," he declared on another occasion; "another hundred years, and all will be over; God's Word will disappear for want of any to preach it." Melancthon, Beza, Calvin, Zwingli, and Bucer all shared these views; and so, while Rome sent her messengers into every land, Protestant Christians, to their abiding loss, believed in home missions only.

Yet, as Francis of Assisi and Lully shine out of the gloom of the non-missionary centuries, so a noble succession of thinkers and scholars who were also seers anticipated the action of a wiser age, and began to make that age possible. The history of Missions must record the slow diffusion of missionary principles, by men chosen to impel to action rather than to act; and since missionary enthusiasts to-day are sometimes belittled as persons whose intelligence is less conspicuous than their piety, it is well to remember that, while the rank and file of Christians in post-Reformation days were content to hug their own privileges, the case for Missions was being made out by men of commanding intellect.

Erasmus, in words as strange to his contemporaries as they seem natural to us, says that it is more important to build a human Jerusalem in the soul

¹ Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 13.

than to see the ruins of the literal Jerusalem, and urges those for whom he wrote his *Treatise on the Art of Preaching* in 1535 to strive to enrich the heathen with spiritual treasure. "Would that God had accounted me worthy to die in such a holy work!" he exclaims. Unique among Reformed Confessions is John Knox's prayer at the close of the Scottish Confession of Faith in 1560 that all nations may attain to the true knowledge of God. Saravia, Dean of Westminster, a Dutchman like Erasmus, and one of the translators who gave us our Authorised Version, sets forth the missionary obligation in his *Treatise on Episcopacy* published in 1590. In 1664 the Austrian Baron von Wetzl pleaded for the establishment of a missionary college in every university, and, though he seemed to make no impression, his influence lived on. Then three famous philosophers took up the cause: German Leibnitz (1646-1716), Irish Bishop Berkeley (1685-1753), and English Bishop Butler (1692-1752). The last, preaching about 1747 for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, said: "Christianity is very particularly to be considered as a trust deposited with us on behalf of others, on behalf of mankind as well as for our own instruction. No one has a right to be called a Christian who does not do somewhat in his station towards the discharge of the trust, whether at home or abroad."

Mention of the S.P.G. leads us from principles to practice. The first English missionary contribution was £100 given in 1588 by Sir Walter Raleigh,

“for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia”; James I. was our first royal patron of missions; John Donne preached the first English missionary sermon in 1622; the Red Indians were our first heathen subjects, and their apostle, John Eliot, who died in 1690, aged 86, was the first English missionary of modern times. And then, born a century before their time and nearly dying of chill and inanition, came the two societies that were the forerunners of the philanthropic and religious agencies that are doing so much good work to-day, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge founded in 1698, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701. Both were due to Dr. Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, Warwick, who, deeply impressed with the ignorance of religion at home, the spiritual destitution of Englishmen abroad, and the claims of the heathen, devoted himself and his fortune to the service of God. The first report of the S.P.G., published in 1704, dwells on the success of primitive missions, on the Church of Rome boasting much of her missions, on the fact that England hath been too much wanting; and makes it clear that the “Foreign Parts” were our own colonies and dependencies. But from the first the S.P.G. cared for the Red Indians and Negroes in face of much opposition; and in 1752 sent the Rev. T. Thompson to the Gold Coast, where he laboured for five years as the first English missionary to Africa.

In 1705 two Germans, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütscho, went out as the first Pro-

testant missionaries to India under the King of Denmark's patronage and subsidised by the S.P.C.K., and their Tamil New Testament was the first vernacular Scripture for the peoples of India. Later on, the S.P.C.K. aided with funds Christian Schwartz, of Tanjore and Tinneveli, one of the greatest of Indian missionaries.

But these isolated and apparently abortive efforts left the Church as a whole apathetic. Exhausted by the interminable controversies and furious religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Protestantism grew distrustful of enthusiasm; "in the desire to be reasonable men forgot to be in earnest";¹ and an age came in which what was actually said of some might have been said of many, "Sometimes they are Papists, and sometimes Protestants; but they have never been Christians." Inaction led to indifference, indifference to unbelief, and in the blighting atmosphere of arid Rationalism, and eventually of self-satisfied Deism, which infected even those who in words still confessed the faith, spiritual life withered both in Britain and in Germany.

"As the mechanism of a watch proves that it must have had an intelligent maker, so the evidence of design in nature proves that it had once a Creator"—such was Paley's famous argument, adapted from Nieuwentyt. "In like manner, the progress of Christianity in primitive times proves that the Founder of it had a divine commission." These were the characteristic reasonings of an age

¹ Bishop of Ripon, *History of Church of England*.

which could not attain to the conception of God, in Whom we live and move and have our being, as still immanent in His creation ; of the Living, Reigning Christ at the right hand of God ; of the Holy Spirit, Author and Giver of life to all who will receive it to-day as truly as on the Day of Pentecost.

In the evil era of the Georges English religion sank to its lowest ebb ; and in 1747 Bishop Butler refused the see of Canterbury, regretting that “ it was too late for him to try to save a falling Church.” In his charge to the clergy of the diocese of Durham in 1751 he said : “ It is impossible for me, my brethren . . . to forbear lamenting, with you, the general decay of religion in this nation which is now observed by every one, and has been some time the complaint of all serious persons. The influence of it is more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations upon the subject ; but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers their zeal.” Samuel Johnson, devoted churchman as he was, declared he had never been acquainted with one “ religious clergyman.” As for the Nonconformists, the evidence brought forward in connection with the Dissenters’ Chapels Act of 1844, showed that not a few of their chapels were Unitarian in teaching in the eighteenth century.¹ A Church that would not give the message was rapidly becoming a Church that had no message to give.

¹ Lord Selborne, *Defence of the Church of England*.

Two representative utterances will illustrate current views about missions. Bishop Horsley, noted as a scholar and mathematician, as an author and defender of the faith against Unitarianism, speaking in the House of Lords in 1793 on the renewal of the Charter of the Honourable East India Company, said: "Were it possible to do so, which I deny, there is no obligation upon us, as Christians, to attempt the conversion of the natives of India. The command of our Saviour to His Apostles to go into all the world does not, as I conceive, apply to us." At the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1796 Dr. George Hamilton declared that "To spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous, in so far as philosophy and learning must, in the nature of things, take the precedence, and that, while there remains at home a single individual without the means of religious knowledge, to propagate it abroad would be improper and absurd." In 1808 the constitution of the earliest American missionary society was drawn up in cipher by five college students, "public opinion then being opposed to us."

Yet Britain was in close relation to two of the greatest mission fields. The H.E.I.C., which, as a trading company, had shown favour to Schwartz, was now a conquering power laying the foundations of the British Empire in India, and as such its watchword was, "Missions threaten the security of the Indian Government." Meanwhile, it charged

itself with the upkeep of heathen temples and derived revenue from collecting taxes on pilgrims. The first English missionary to India was refused a passage in a British ship, and when he arrived in 1793 in a Danish one he was not allowed to settle on British territory. Sir John Seeley truly describes as "brahminised" the Anglo-Indians of that period, who must have seemed to the natives to be absolutely without religion. And there was little of that strong sense of moral responsibility for the welfare of the Indian peoples which is found to-day even in officials who are unsympathetic to missionary effort.

Throughout the 116 years that the four Georges ruled this land its conscience was seared by another national crime. Seeley traces the marked decline of English morality, social and political, during the eighteenth century, to the leading part taken by England in the infamous traffic which supplied the labour market of America with negroes stolen from Africa. Out of 74,000 exported thence by all nations in 1793, England exported 38,000, and as late as 1772 London newspapers advertised black boys and girls to be sold. The deep hostility of the West Indian planters to any attempt to evangelise their slaves is comparable to the spirit of the Moslems in some parts of Africa to-day, who only seek to convert when they can no longer enslave. Often have the sufferings of Africans through the slave-trade been described; here we are mainly concerned with its debasing effect on Europeans whom it enriched. For instance, we come upon a

perfectly callous description of the living freight of a slaver, off Bristol, in a chatty letter from one fashionable lady to another. George Whitefield's memorandum as to buying more negroes for his Orphanage puts the transaction quite on a level with buying more cows. John Newton, after his conversion, remains for some time the captain of a slaver, without any twinge of conscience. So hard is it for even good and humane men to rise above the public opinion of their age.

Britain, gaining rapidly in wealth at home through the great development of her industry and commerce, and in influence abroad through her growing dominion overseas, was in danger of the doom on unfaithfulness and oppression. But the day of rebuke came swiftly. Her Transatlantic Colonies, destined to grow into one of the vastest and richest realms the world has ever seen, were snatched from her by the American Declaration of Independence of 1776. A lately published letter from George III. to the Secretary of Treasury in October 1779, shows how severe a shock and humiliation to Britain that was ; also, incidentally, how little that dull though conscientious monarch appreciated what we had won from France in North America. He writes thus : " As to our granting independence, I hope the hour will never arrive that this country can be so fallen in sentiment as to admit of it. At least I will never put my hand to a measure that cannot fail of reducing this island to its own narrow limits."

As the century closed, England received a final

challenge from her age-long rival France, now threatening all Europe, and led by the greatest warrior of modern times.

This survey of eighteen hundred years of Church history leaves us with a sense of disappointment similar to that felt on reading the story of the Chosen People. Of all those redeemed at the Red Sea, only two entered Canaan; the splendid reigns of David and Solomon were followed by national apostasy; the remnant returned from the Captivity to cry, when their Messiah came, "Not this Man, but Barabbas." So the Church pure and persecuted, gave place to the Church prevailing and perverted, as the number of those who professed and called themselves Christians without being led into the way of truth increased. And therefore Eastern Christianity was overrun by Islam; Latin Christianity lost half Europe, was impotent in India, was thrust out of China and Japan; Reformed Christianity, etiolated by Rationalism, menaced by blatant infidelity, was selfishly keeping itself to itself, as the storm of the French Revolution burst. Marvelling afresh at the corruptibility of the Christian religion, we ask whether the religion of Christ can again prove itself indestructible. Bad men, not bad institutions, had wrought the downfall of old Rome. So the Church was grievously sick, not of error or unbelief in the abstract, but of men holding a form of godliness but having denied the power thereof. Christians who would mould a better future, instead of being moulded by an evil past, were the real need. Such

Christians had already lived and died, little heeded by the world, and their influence would presently make itself felt.

Cold and timid as theology became in the early eighteenth century, champions of the Faith arose ; and (as Sir James Stephen¹ points out) while its opponents, Middleton, Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Chubb, Toland, Collins, Woolston, are now well-nigh forgotten and quite unread, the answers they provoked from Warburton, Lardner, Newton, and, above all, from Butler, in his immortal *Analogy*, are still known to all, and Butler, at least, read by many. They are swords that hang yet in our armoury, while the hostile weapons lie rusty and broken. The Eastern proverb truly says, "The dogs run out and bark, but still the caravan goes on." Moreover, just as all that was of value in Greek philosophy and Roman law was gathered up to enrich earlier Christian thought, so all that was true in the Revolutionary ideas—all that was latent, though as yet unobserved, in the New Testament itself—concerning the common humanity and the rights of man as man, was to be used to show that the most degraded might, and should be, rescued ; that justice and mercy to weak or subject races called for abolition of the slave-trade, for a new policy in India, and, above all, for the evangelisation of the world. The influence of this new thought may be likened to the intellectual influence of the Renaissance, even as the influence of the discoveries of Captain Cook in firing men's imaginations about

¹ *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 379.

the regions beyond was similar to the influence of the earlier discoveries of Columbus.

But these things were only, as in 1500, auxiliary to a mightier impulse. Vindication of the faith by argument, new knowledge, awakened thought and curiosity, had made a trench about the altar, had put the wood in order, had cut the bullock in pieces and laid it on the wood ; but, until the fire of the Lord fell, there could be no conviction in action, to vitalise the Church at home, to evoke its expansive power abroad. And only in the glow of that divine fire could the chill wave of Rationalism, which had quenched the controversial blaze of the preceding century, be evaporated. To us Christians the Fire of the Lord stands for the Holy Spirit, who informed the new-born Church on the Day of Pentecost.

In Israel's earliest annals we read that when they were brought very low, having done evil in the sight of the Lord, the Spirit of the Lord clothed itself with Gideon (Judg. vi. 34, R.V.) and they were delivered. So modern missionary enterprise for the saving of the Church and of the world came when the Spirit clothed Himself again with certain men of God. We may name two such men, Francke and Zinzendorf, in Germany in the first half, and two such men, Wesley and Carey, in England in the second half of the eighteenth century ; discerning beneath the irreligion and unbelief on which we have dwelt the imperishable Faith kept alive and handed on as of old by a loyal remnant.

A second "apostolical succession" of missionary

zeal is noteworthy. About 1700 Jesuit missionaries, newly returned from China to Rome, met Leibnitz the philosopher; the result was that he thought out a scheme for a Lutheran mission to China, and published it in a little treatise called *Novissima Sinica* (Newest China). Nothing came of the scheme, but the treatise fell into the hands of August Hermann Francke, Professor of Theology at Halle, Saxony. To him and to Spener had been due a wonderful spiritual revival in Germany, brought forth in prayer and growing up into an influence far-reaching and mighty in moving men. Leibnitz's argument for missions bore fruit in the heart of this saint, and he imbued with missionary zeal his illustrious pupil, Count von Zinzendorf, the succourer and leader of the Moravians. In 1736 John Wesley, during a visit to him and to them, entered into a fulness of faith and peace hitherto unknown. He became the leader of a mighty spiritual revival in England, and had (in the opinion of the present Bishop of Ripon) a religious influence greater than that exercised by any individual Christian during the last three hundred years. Second only to him as a winner of souls was George Whitefield, who says in his diaries that the beam of a divine light broke into his soul like a flash through reading the writings of Francke. John Newton completes this group of evangelists, all clergymen of the Church of England, to whose labours the dawn of modern Missions may be traced. Its herald was William Carey, who as a boy may have heard Wesley preach at Towcester.

From England, through Claudius Buchanan's treatise, *The Star in the East*, and the reports of the newly founded societies, the missionary impulse passed over to Adoniram Judson and Samuel Mills in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ere we pass to the story of Opened Doors and Fulfilled Hopes with Carey, we must, however, go back to the early eighteenth century, to Zinzendorf and to the first Protestant Church which awakened to missions.

The most striking example in history of the loss which comes of "looking each of you to his own things" is the North African Church, which, as we have seen, passed utterly away, in spite of its great men and commanding influence, because it was not a missionary Church. The most striking example of the blessing which comes of "looking each of you to the things of others" is the Moravian Church. In 1457, while the Wars of the Roses were distracting England, four years after the Fall of Constantinople, sixty years before Luther published his theses, some Bohemian followers of John Hus constituted themselves into a reformed Church before the Reformation which, joined by some Moravians and Waldenses, became known a few years later, when 200,000 in number, as the *Unitas Fratrum*. After 150 years of persecution its remnant, some 600 in number, took refuge in 1722 on the lands of von Zinzendorf, and established, fifty miles due east of Dresden, the colony of Herrnhut. Zinzendorf's evangelistic zeal, already stirred up by Francke, was kindled into

flame when, at the coronation of his relative the King of Denmark, he met Hans Egede, the devoted Norwegian missionary from Greenland. The Moravians became the instrument of carrying out his desire to make known the Gospel.

Their first missionaries, Dober and Nitschmann, went in 1732 to the negroes in the West Indies. Moravians have since laboured in Greenland, Alaska, Labrador, Guiana, East, Equatorial and South Africa, Tibet, Australia, and among the Samoyedes, Lapps, and Eskimos. They had also short-lived missions in Guinea, Algiers, Egypt, Persia, Ceylon, and South India. In the twenty years from 1732 to 1752 they founded more missions than all the Reformed Churches had done in two hundred years; choosing out, in a truly Christ-like spirit, the least attractive and least hopeful spheres, sweeping the darkest corners of the earth to find jewels for the Master's crown; refuting practically, not philosophically, the heartless world's hard theory of "doomed races." Wherever a people downtrodden or driven out is to be found, there may we find a Moravian missionary.

Men of humble condition, for the most part, though by no means uneducated, they constantly pray, in the words of their beautiful Liturgy, "From the unhappy desire of becoming great preserve us, gracious Lord and God"; and offer unceasing intercession, both by day and night, for the missions of their Church. They were content to attack the outworks of heathendom, leaving the storming of its citadels to churches of greater gifts and influence. Not with the sword of Charlemagne,

or with the Inquisitor's threat of flaming fire in this world as well as in the world to come, but in the spirit of Francis of Assisi, of the Celtic missionaries, and of the Apostles, willing to be all things to all men, and supporting themselves by their own labour, these simple men and women went forth from a Church that has always remained poor and pure. They did not set themselves up to rebuke other Christians who had interests and responsibilities in distant lands which they had not—Germany's dream of an empire overseas was a century and a half in the future—they went with the unquestioning obedience of the child, showing quietly, unostentatiously that it is the natural and normal thing for a Christian to be a missionary. And it is the indirect, rather than the direct, result of their labours that gives them their immortal fame. For the remote and dwindling, the degraded and suffering races in inhospitable lands whom they sought out cannot mould the world's future like the peoples in the great centres of its thought and activity; the inestimable service that they did was that they followed up the arguments of Erasmus, Leibnitz, von Weltz, and Butler, and the schemes of Berkeley and Bray, for preaching the Gospel, by actually going to preach it; thus furnishing in themselves the object-lesson of a Church blest and made a blessing. "*Gens æterna*" was the phrase Zinzendorf used of them. The six hundred fugitives have become a community reckoning nearly forty thousand members at home, with over a hundred thousand (that is nearly three times as many)

converts abroad, in nearly 230 mission stations. Altogether they have now sent out between two and three thousand missionaries. From Reformed Christendom, as a whole, out of three thousand five hundred communicants, one goes out as a missionary; from the Moravian church one in sixty goes. Zinzendorf thus expressed their supreme aim in a hymn :

“ Als ein gutes Salz der Erden
Nützlich ausgestreut zu werden.”

And they may indeed be regarded, first of all, as missionaries to the Church at home; as the little child among the churches, called to lead Christendom into the right way and to save it from the doom of salt which loses its savour.

CHAPTER IX

THE OPENING OF THE DOORS

A.D. 1858

REFORMED CHRISTIANITY MILITANT—THE ERA OF SOCIETIES

“And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison-house were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened; and every one’s bands were loosed.”—THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

“O God, open the doors,” was the prayer of the few who believed in missions in 1800; as, amid difficulties and discouragements we can hardly imagine, Reformed Christendom—first Moravians and Lutherans, then English Nonconformists, Scottish Presbyterians, then Anglicans, then French and other Continental Protestants—slowly girded itself to the task of winning the World. And then, sixty years after the Missionary Dawn, and fifty years ago, comes what Dr. Pierson has happily called the “Annus Mirabilis” of missionary history—1858. Suddenly there is an earthquake of change; simultaneously all the four great mission fields of the world—Africa, India, China, and Japan—are thrown open to the Gospel, and for eight hundred

millions of the human race age-long bands are loosed, and the foundations of the prison-house are shaken.

In 1858 Africa was opened, for then Speke and Burton discovered its vast Lakes and David Livingstone, greatest explorer of the nineteenth century and one of the half-dozen greatest missionaries in history, started on his second and most notable journey. We live to see its result in the healing of what he called "the open sore of the world"—the slave trade.

In 1858 the H.E.I.C., with its almost consistently anti-Christian policy, came to an end, and India was henceforth ruled, not by a company of traders, but by the Queen of Great Britain, who in 1878 assumed the title "Kaisar-i-Hind." In the noble words which Queen Victoria herself inserted in her first proclamation to her Indian subjects, this Christian successor of the Moguls, while rightly announcing complete religious toleration and equality of all creeds in the eyes of the law, confessed her own faith, and closed with a prayer: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion. . . . May the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people!" So India was fully opened to the missionary.

In 1858 China was opened, when the Treaty of Tientsin, reversing the decree of 1724, granted religious toleration and liberty to Europeans to

travel inland. For the terms of this charter much credit is due to the American missionaries, Wells Williams and W. A. P. Martin.

In 1858 Japan was opened by the Treaty of Yedo, which ended its long and unparalleled seclusion. "The United States had unlocked the box, and Britain lifted the lid."

To what extent was Christendom prepared to enter in by these opened doors?

In 1786 a few Baptist ministers met in Northampton, and William Carey, the minister from the village of Moulton, proposed as a subject for discussion: "Whether the command given to the Apostles to teach all nations was not obligatory on all succeeding ministers to the end of the world, seeing that the accompanying promise was of equal extent." He was promptly suppressed by the chairman with these words: "You are a miserable enthusiast for asking such a question. Certainly nothing can be done before another Pentecost, when an effusion of miraculous gifts, including the gift of tongues, will give effect to the commission of Christ as at the first."

The man who had dared thus to utter his deepest conviction was the son of a weaver, who was keeping school and mending shoes to increase his ministerial income of £15. He was to become the first English missionary to Asia, and the founder of missions in Hindustan, where he spent forty-one years without break; also, incidentally, the first professor of Bengali and Sanskrit in the first Government college in India at a salary

of £1,800 a year (which enabled him to endow missions in India with nearly £50,000). Nor is this all his claim to be reckoned the greatest of English missionaries. For the Baptist Missionary Society, which he and his friends founded with funds amounting to £13 2s. 6d., was the pioneer of many great societies. In the *Edinburgh Review* of April 1807, Sidney Smith poured scorn upon these "consecrated cobblers" who thought to convert India; in the first number of the *Quarterly Review*, Robert Southey, High Churchman as he was, replied thus: "In fourteen years these low-born, low-bred mechanics have done more to spread the knowledge of the Scripture among the heathen than has been accomplished, or even attempted, by all the princes and potentates of the world, and all the universities and establishments into the bargain."

The Most High, who is a great King over all the earth, who putteth down one and lifteth up another, was about to entrust, in the third missionary age, world-wide power to a Christian people who could not be, as heathen Rome had been in the first missionary age, merely unconscious instruments of His purpose. Would they make this power an occasion for self-enrichment and self-aggrandisement at the expense of other races, or an opportunity for sharing their greatest blessings with their fellows? The destinies of an empire, we may almost say of the world, hung on the answer to that question.

With nations, as with individuals, the foundations of a new life must be laid on repentance and for-

saking of sin. What, then, of the slave-trade, and of anti-Christian policy in India? In 1786, the same year in which Carey asked his startling question, William Wilberforce dedicated himself to the service of God, setting before him two objects—the abolition of the slave-trade and the reformation of manners. A dozen years later he became one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society, the abolitionist and missionary movements being throughout in closest alliance. In 1807, twenty-one years of heroic struggle culminated in the Bill abolishing the slave-trade, and that very year the tide seemed to turn in the European war, and he could joyfully write: “God will now bless the country; the first authentic account of the defeat of the French has come to-day.”¹ In 1834 slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire.

In 1813 a Bill renewing the Charter of the H.E.I.C. was passed. It contained clauses framed on lines suggested by Wilberforce and other founders of the C.M.S., declaring that measures tending to the introduction of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement among the natives of India ought to be adopted. In that year Napoleon’s armies sustained a crushing defeat at Leipsic, and were finally driven out of Spain. The first ordained Anglican missionaries to “Africa and the East” sailed in 1815, the year when Waterloo was won. But the H.E.I.C., reflecting the general opinion of the time, subsidised idol temples until 1852, and forbade any “proselytising” in the Indian army. “Would

¹ Stock, *History of the C.M.S.*, vol. i. p. 94,

you have us all murdered in our beds ? ” was the cry that burst from a colonel at Meerut, when the first conversion of a Sepoy, a Brahman non-commissioned officer of his regiment, was announced. The end of this policy was that at Meerut, just one hundred years after Clive’s great victory at Plassey in 1757, the Sepoys mutinied, set a feeble descendant of the Moguls on the throne, and besides those killed in battle, butchered altogether some 1,500 unarmed English men, women, and children. “ I believe,” wrote Lord Lawrence, “ that what more stirred up the Indian Mutiny than any other thing was the habitual cowardice of Great Britain as to her own religion.”

What saved British rule in India in the dark days of 1857 ? The stedfast loyalty of the Punjab, which made it possible to send its whole English garrison, and Sikh and Pathan regiments as well, to the siege of Delhi. Whose wise measures had made the Punjab a bulwark of our empire ? That province had been conspicuous for two things—the most successful government and the most open acknowledgment of Christian duty on the part of its governors, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Robert Montgomery, and Sir Herbert Edwardes. “ Through Sir John Lawrence Delhi fell,” wrote the Viceroy of India, “ and the Punjab, no longer a weakness, became a source of strength.” The Mutiny was quelled by the swords of men who were not ashamed of their faith in Christ and their desire to spread His gospel. History contains no finer illustration of the words “ Them that honour Me I will

honour.” We have lived to see a rapidly growing Christian community in India which is, among all its diverse populations, the best educated, the most loyal to Britain, and certainly not the least patriotic.

In India the number of Protestant native Christians was estimated at 27,000 in 1830 ; and given by the Census of 1851 as 91,092. In 1804 the London Missionary Society followed the Baptist Missionary Society ; in 1813 came the American Congregationalists and Baptists ; in 1816 the C.M.S. ; in 1825 the S.P.G. ; and in 1829 arrived Alexander Duff, founder of educational missions, second to Carey only in the extent of his influence in India. Women’s work in India was begun in 1834.

In China, also, foundations had been well and truly laid by a series of remarkable men, of whom Robert Morrison, arriving in 1807, was the first. Two American Societies followed the L.M.S. in 1830 and 1835 ; but effective work there only dates from 1842, when foreigners were permitted to reside in four other cities besides Canton. By 1859 a dozen more societies had entered, but results were very small. In 1860, after ten years’ patient labour in Fuh-kien, the C.M.S. seriously thought of abandoning that station as hopeless.

In 1858 Japan had not yet been entered ; and in Africa the chief work had been that of the C.M.S. on the West Coast and that of Moffat in the south. And so the half-century of preparation ended.

The following societies, representing almost all Christian bodies, and aiming at all fields, almost all began to be before 1858, and are to modern and Protestant missions what the religious orders were to mediæval and Roman missions.

1698.—*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (S.P.C.K.). Co-operates with all Anglican societies by providing Scriptures and Prayer-books, and other literature in many languages.

1701.—*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (S.P.G.). The oldest missionary society in the world; second in size of British societies to-day, reckoning its colonial work; or, reckoning work among heathen only, third in size.

1792.—*Baptist Missionary Society* (B.M.S.); was founded by Carey.

1795.—*London Missionary Society* (L.M.S.). Originally interdenominational, now practically Congregational. Fourth in size among British societies, and notable for inaugurating missions in China and the South Seas.

1796.—*Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies*, which prepared the way for the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland to become their own missionary societies.

1799.—*Church Missionary Society* (C.M.S.). The largest missionary society in the world. It inaugurated Anglican effort in Asia and Africa, and does comparatively little beyond those two continents now. But it is the one society which has evangelised non-Christians in all the six continents.

1799.—*Religious Tract Society* (R.T.S.). Co-operates with all societies by providing literature in many tongues. In 1903 it circulated over 20,000,000 publications in foreign lands.

1804.—*British and Foreign Bible Society*. Co-operates with all societies by endeavouring to place the Book which all men need in the hands of each man who is willing to receive it. It circulates the Scriptures in 418 different languages, and the whole Bible in every language spoken by ten million or more people, except perhaps Tibetan and Hausa.

1808.—*London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews* (L.J.S.). Anglican, and the oldest society for evangelising the Jews.

1810.—*American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (A.B.C.F.M.). Congregationalist, and the oldest missionary society in U.S.A.

1813.—*Wesleyan Missionary Society* (W.M.S.).

1819.—Missionary Society of the *Methodist Episcopal Church of America*. This Church is now its own missionary society, and has a work abroad second to that of no other American Church.

1821.—Missionary Society of the *Protestant Episcopal Church of U.S.A.* which is in communion with the Anglican Church. This Church is also its own missionary society to-day.

1822.—*Institution for the Propagation of the Faith*. Founded at Lyons, it represents the wide revival of Roman missions as one indirect result of Protestant enterprise.

1824.—*Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris*,

which has worked in Basutoland, on the Zambesi, and in the South Seas.

In 1825 the S.P.G. took over work in S. India, hitherto done by Germans subsidised by the S.P.C.K. Till then North America had been its main field; now three-quarters of its resources are spent in Africa, Asia and Australasia.

Between 1824 and 1849 seven German societies were founded: the Berlin, Basel, Rhenish, North German or Bremen, Leipsic, Gossner and Hermannsburg, named in the order of age. The Basel is the largest, and the Bremen the smallest. Their total incomes are about half the C.M.S. income.

1842.—*British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews*. Interdenominational.

1844.—*South American Missionary Society* (S.A.M.S.). An Anglican society founded by Captain Allen Gardiner.

1848.—The *Melanesian Mission* also Anglican, whose work was inaugurated by Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson.

1858.—*Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (U.M.C.A.). Founded in response to Livingstone's appeal, working in German East Equatorial Africa.

1861.—*Zenana Bible and Medical Mission* (originally known as the I.F.N.S.I.). Interdenominational. There branched off from it in

1880.—*Church of England Zenana Missionary Society* (C.E.Z.M.S.), employing unmarried women missionaries only, and working in India and China only as auxiliary to the C.M.S.

1865.—*China Inland Mission* (C.I.M.). The most

important society founded since 1858. Inter-denominational and international ; now second in size among British societies for evangelising the heathen.

For convenience of reference, these agencies of modern evangelisation have been thus enumerated. Later on, we consider the society system in itself, adding here one point only.

But for the banding together of hardy adventurers, as the Hudson's Bay Co. and the H.E.I.C., to replenish and subdue distant realms, the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire in India would never have been. But for the founding of missionary societies by true-hearted individual Christians a hundred years ago we could not be joyfully anticipating to-day such a conversion of the Church to Missions that confirmation (or its equivalent rite of entry into full Christian privileges) shall be regarded as "an ordination of the laity to a personal share in missionary work." This will be the most convincing proof of the value of the society system ; when it is given, the societies will attain their Euthanasia, and we shall be able to say over each :

"Quiet consummation have,
And renowned be thy grave."

CHAPTER X

THE SEVEN EMPIRES OF THE WORLD

A.D. 1910

“ He increaseth the nations and destroyeth them :
He spreadeth the nations abroad and bringeth them in.”
THE BOOK OF JOB.

HALF a century after the Opening of the Doors we sum up the political and then the religious condition of the world : outcome of the long past already surveyed, earnest of the future we are each one of us contributing to make.

The whole globe is at last explored, even the ice-bound fastnesses about the Poles have been traversed. To the white men of the now dominant races became known, in the nineteenth century, the great lakes and rivers and wonderful tropical forests of Africa and South America ; the rich plains yielding corn, and boundless pasture-lands of North America and Australia, together with their abundant mineral treasure, and much other hitherto unsuspected wealth of the world. Moreover, East and West, welded together under the common rule of Rome for the first preaching of the Gospel, falling asunder when the Middle Ages began, and when they

ended, once more drawing together, are one to-day as they have never been before. "The completion of this process is a specially great and fateful event, because it closes a page for ever. The conditions that are now vanishing can never recur. The civilised and semi-civilised races cannot relapse into their former isolation."¹

In thought, in effort, in culture, the world is one to-day more truly, more lastingly than it was when the Fourth Kingdom, "diverse from all the kingdoms, devoured the whole earth and trod it down, and broke it in pieces." In 1800 no land outside Europe, except North Africa, could be reached or communicated with in a three weeks' journey from London. In 1910 almost any part of the globe can be communicated with in an hour, and a traveller starting from London may in three weeks reach the far side of North America, the north of South America, South Africa, the east or west coast of Africa, and almost any part of India and Japan, while Peking is exactly a fortnight's journey from London. We have lately seen armies mustered in four continents, under the orders of one sovereign, converging on a fifth continent; news of a British reverse in South Africa in December 1899 emboldening reactionaries in China to attack all white men in 1900; and the force which delivered representatives of many nations besieged in Peking led by the 1st Regiment of Sikhs and the 7th Regiment of Rajputs.

To understand the present through the past, we

¹ Rt. Hon. James Bryce.

must trace the process by which this unity has come about ; must go back even to the conditions pictured in those mysterious visions of Daniel, which on one side elude explanation and on another side explain so much. For the Hebrew seers, interpreting the history of their own time, gave us a clue to the history of all time. Several great empires have arisen, sweeping away an old order, bringing diverse peoples under the sway of some King of kings. Mere brute force maintained the Assyrian and Persian Empires, the golden head and silver breast or the lion and the bear of Daniel's visions ; then came the only two empires of the past that built up as well as destroyed, and that have therefore been of enduring influence—the Greek and the Roman, the brass and the iron, the leopard and the beast strong exceedingly. The end of the political dominion of each inaugurated a grander and more lasting dominion over their conquerors, so that of each it might be said "*Victi victoribus leges dederunt.*" We have seen how Greece lived again in the culture which pervaded the Roman Empire, which moulded Christian thought at Alexandria, which through the Renaissance acted upon the Reformation ; and how Rome lived again in the ecclesiastical and civil polity of the Europe which rose on her ruins, so that Latin became the language of the republic of letters ; and the three emperors in Europe still have some form of "*Cæsar*" for their titles.

All ancient history led up to the consolidation of that Roman Empire, and from its disintegration

all modern history dates. How the five nations commanding the Atlantic wrestled together for supremacy in the lands beyond the sea is its main theme. Spain and Portugal organised trade empires which proved ephemeral, because Portugal was so small, and Spain had neither sons enough to fill her boundless new realms nor home products enough to exchange for their products. Then came Holland, also too small to keep what she won. And then France, termed by Mrs. Browning "the poet of the nations," originated two ideas, a Transatlantic refuge for persecuted religionists—Coligny's scheme, and a European Empire of India—Dupleix's scheme. None could have guessed then by whom both schemes were to be carried out. For in Coligny's time England was a third-rate power, with a population of about 4,000,000, which had just lost Calais, her one possession beyond her own borders. But in the reign of one great queen she defied Spain, the leading power in Europe, and by defeating the Spanish Armada (1588) laid the foundation of an empire which in the reign of another great queen was to become almost five times as large in population as the Roman Empire at its largest. Then two hundred years ago England, grown into Great Britain, with a population of 8,000,000, defied France, whose population was nineteen millions. During 125 years, from 1689 to 1815, seven wars, lasting sixty-four years altogether, were waged between France and Britain, which, to the reader who does not look beyond Europe, seem as uninteresting as they were complicated, as paltry

in results as they were costly in men and money; but, from the day that William III. and Marlborough humbled Louis XIV. to the day that Nelson and Wellington humbled Napoleon, that tremendous duel was gradually determining who should be supreme overseas. "*Cette vieille Europe m'ennuie,*" said Napoleon, for his ultimate ambition was the revived dream of a Greater France. Nothing happening in Europe during those wars was so critical as the battle of Plassey (1757), which settled the destiny of India (1,900,000 square miles, as large as Europe without Russia), and the capture of Quebec (1759), which settled the destiny of Canada (3,750,000 square miles, almost twice the size of India, and larger than the United States).

If we divide the globe by a great circle through Peru and South Asia we have a hemisphere of land and a hemisphere of water; and London is exactly in the middle of the hemisphere of land, set, as was Jerusalem of old, "in the midst of the nations and countries." Moreover, there is no stretch of salt water on the globe beyond the three-mile limit where the flag of England does not fly. More than a fifth of the area of the globe, more than a quarter of its inhabitants, are under our Sovereign's rule; and it is a familiar thought that the sun never sets upon his dominions. The 15,000 square miles added to them last year (1909) by friendly exchange with the Siamese Government probably completes the territories of the greatest empire that ever has been—we may almost add that ever can be.

Britain is not an old and small state, but a young and vast realm of nascent nations. It has not created provinces as Rome did, but kingdoms and commonwealths, partakers of its own life, instinct with its own spirit; bound together by common love of constitutional government and common loyalty to the Crown. Like Rome, it embraces over a hundred races, speaking over a hundred tongues, as different from each other as are degraded Bushmen and Papuans from polished Brahmans. Like Rome, also, it has a common polity and law, and one imperial language which subjects of all hues eagerly learn, whose great literature moulds their thoughts and ideals, which is used by aliens even beyond its borders. For instance, the peace negotiations between China and Japan in 1896 were carried on in English.

When a young Briton gets a lesson on the Empire, he glows with pride, and takes some part of the credit to himself. He may even be tempted to say (as Sienkiewicz makes a typical Roman under Nero say in *Quo Vadis*): "We have conquered the world, and we have a right to amuse ourselves." How it strikes other people came out lately in the crude but forcible remark of a Melanesian boy who received a geography lesson on our Empire: "How greedy England is!" Here we can enter upon no vindication of ourselves from the charge of greed in getting it; our concern is with the terms on which we may hope to keep it. For now, to the comparatively easy task of empire-winning, of buying the site, succeeds the harder

task of empire-building, of rearing a structure worthy of it upon the site.

Six other empires share our sovereignty of the globe. A quarter of a century ago, when, through *The Expansion of England*, Sir John Seeley began to educate his countrymen in the significance of their Empire, he spoke of it as "the successor and sole survivor of Greater Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France." So much has happened since, that his statement already needs revision. Greater Spain has indeed been still further reduced to little more than the town of Ceuta and two petty islets in the Gulf of Guinea; and Portugal and the Netherlands are no longer states of first-rate rank, though they still have dependencies large in proportion to themselves, Portuguese Africa being equal to twenty Portugals in area, and Holland's colonies overseas being many times the size of Holland.

But the possessions of France overseas have increased sixfold since Seeley wrote, their newly acquired island of Madagascar alone being of greater extent than France itself. It is Russia, with its 120 different races and tongues, which stands second in area and third in population among world-empires, and a new competitor, off the Atlantic rather than on it, has arisen since Germany was united into one strong State. Her colonial ambitions originated the final scramble for territory among European powers—the partition of Africa in 1884–5. When it took place, none could have foreseen that the two ancient empires

of the Far East would suddenly step into the front rank of world-powers, though Napoleon said a century ago of China, "There sleeps a giant. Let him sleep," and again, "When China is moved it will move the world." We are now watching China's awaking. Japan, having overcome her mighty Asiatic neighbour, and also another great Power, at once Asiatic and European, has acquired in Korea alone a territory twice the size of Japan itself, not to mention Formosa and other islands. Finally, the United States, the only great nation born into the broad light of history, supplements its own huge continental domain with islands of the sea. One in tongue, and to a large extent one in race and religion with ourselves, their general influence on mankind is similar to ours; and Britain and the United States together account for between one-fourth and one-third of the world's area, and for one-third of its population.

SEVEN WORLD-EMPIRES, 1910

		Area. Sq. miles.	Population.	Home Population.	Language spoken by.
BRITAIN		11,500,000	420,000,000	43,000,000	111,000,000
CHINA		4,277,000	400,000,000	400,000,000	400,000,000
RUSSIA		8,500,000	130,000,000	130,000,000	75,000,000
U.S.A.		3,623,000	84,000,000	84,000,000	111,000,000
FRANCE		4,307,000	85,000,000	39,000,000	51,000,000
GERMANY		1,236,000	70,000,000	56,500,000	75,000,000
JAPAN		257,000	59,000,000	46,000,000	46,000,000
OTHER STATES		21,400,000	352,000,000		
WORLD		<u>55,000,000</u>	<u>1,600,000,000</u>		

Moreover, it seems as if the political centre of gravity were changing. We observed that after 1500 the Mediterranean was replaced, as the great

highway of nations, by the Atlantic. Our children may live to see the Atlantic replaced by the Pacific. For only three of the seven empires of to-day are on the Atlantic, while five of them are on the Pacific, and in the near future a very important part must be played by the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and Britain's Pacific realms, Australia and Canada.

The great outstanding fact of our age is that three-fifths of the area, and nearly four-fifths of the population, of the world are under the rule of seven empires; and, to point the contrast between the condition of affairs now and in A.D. 1, we observe that four of the seven lie wholly outside the area of the old Roman Empire. Of the remaining three, the only parts ever Roman are France itself, part of Germany, and England (*i.e.* less than half the United Kingdom), with 100 square miles of British European stations. (Technically Egypt and Cyprus are not within our empire.) That is, of 33,600,000 square miles, only about 280,000 were ever Roman. When we come to the missionary application of all this history and geography, we shall see whether the following assertion of Professor Freeman still holds good: "Christianity has hardly anywhere taken firm and lasting root except in those countries which either formed part of the Roman Empire or learned their religion and civilisation from it."¹

Of the seven empires, Great Britain is far ahead in both population and area, and is the only one in six continents. China, Japan, and the United States

¹ *General Sketch of European History.*

are each in one continent, unless we reckon some Australasian islands ; France is in four, Germany in three, Russia in two, the last being the only compact empire with no outlying territories. To qualify mere statements as to area, its vast Arctic steppes may be set over against France's tropical sands. The Sahara, one of the barrenest and emptiest parts of the world, forms more than half of the 3,000,000 square miles of French Africa. Moreover, France itself could support far more than its present inhabitants, and its population is declining ; while Russia's population grows and continually seeks outlet into more fertile lands, under less oppressive rule ; and the population of the United States grows faster than that of any other land, except Canada, mainly by immigration ; and Great Britain, China, Japan, and India are so crowded that they must overflow. Emigration is therefore the characteristic feature in Britain, Russia, China, and Japan, while immigration is the characteristic feature in the United States and Greater Britain. This leads us from rising Powers to restless peoples, in our age of great changes and spiritual as well as political upheavals.

CHAPTER XI

THE EBB AND FLOW OF PEOPLES

“ Am I my brother’s keeper ? ” —THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

THE gathering together of many diverse races under a few administrations co-exists to-day with a great restlessness of peoples, pressing upon the means of subsistence at home, and seeking abroad not only bread but scope for newly roused ambitions. This spontaneous movement of individuals swelling into multitudes is the modern counterpart of the barbarian inroads of 1,400 years ago, when Asia overflowed into Europe ; we are only at the beginning of the political, social, moral, and spiritual changes it must bring. The citizen and the statesman are learning to think imperially ; the Christian and the missionary statesman must learn to be cosmopolitan, to think not in countries but in continents.

For the development of the tropics is coming as inevitably into the hands of the brown and yellow man from Asia as the development of the temperate regions comes into the hands of the white man from Europe. Three old continents, Europe and Asia, both overcrowded, and Africa, whose own races persist and increase, have been pouring their people into three new continents, North and South

America and Australasia, which are all empty or emptying, and are being replenished thus. Argentina, for instance, received in 1908 a quarter of a million of immigrants, representing thirty-six nationalities; and Scriptures in seventy-three different languages were sold during that year in Johannesburg, South Africa to immigrants and natives.

In North America there are now only about 350,000 Red-men; 10,000,000 is an outside estimate of the aborigines of South America; and the aborigines of the West Indies have long been extinct. The last Tasmanian died in 1876; the Maoris of New Zealand are less than 50,000; estimates of the Australian aborigines vary from 20,000 to 100,000. In Oceania the natives are decreasing, in some cases actually dying out. Hawaii, for instance, seventy years ago had thrice its present aboriginal population of 31,000.

From Asia, the only one of the six continents in which European influence has not become European control, three prolific races are overflowing into other continents. The Japanese go not only into Korea, China, and Siberia, but into Oceania. In Hawaii to-day there are two Japanese for one native. The number of Chinese outside China is already estimated at 7,000,000. In North Borneo they are welcomed by the Government as desirable immigrants, but in Canada and the United States, in South Africa, in Australia and Oceania, they are disliked and kept at bay, a condition which their great country will probably, ere long, cease to tolerate. Hindus, mainly agricul-

tural Dravidians from South India, have lately developed notable capacity as colonists; the first 4,000 were introduced into British Guiana in 1846, when the emancipated negroes disdained field work; the 134,000 there now, mostly from North India, form 40 per cent. of the whole population. There are over 14,000 in Jamaica also. Nearly a hundred East Indians were lately found at a lumber mill in British Columbia; and on one sugar plantation in the South Seas a Bible Society agent has sold Gospels in Urdu, Hindi, Tamil, and Telugu, and been asked for Gospels in four other languages of India. In 1860 the first East Indians arrived in Natal, where their patient industry made them so valuable that their number in South Africa has since been increased to 300,000. There are 250,000 in Mauritius, whither they were first brought in 1864 to construct a railway. It was likewise for the making of the Uganda Railway that they were first brought to East Africa, where they are already numerous. Many engaged in trade and skilled labour, besides coolies, are found in all these places, and, reckoning those in Burma, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements, there must be about a million Indians outside India.

Mr. Winston Churchill says: "The entry of the Asiatic as labourer, trader, and capitalist, into competition, in industry, and enterprise, not only with but in the Western world, is a fact of first-rate importance."¹ There is no truly imperial question of greater complexity or of more vital urgency.

To Europe Asia sends a growing number of her

¹ *My African Journey*.

most intelligent young students, whose influence in their own lands must eventually be great. There are some fifteen hundred Orientals in British universities to-day.

The nearer we go to the Equator the stronger do we find the coloured man, and the weaker the white man ; so European emigration is mainly into the temperate zone. Scarcely half a million Frenchmen are outside France ; but the populations, mainly British in blood, and wholly British in sentiment, in the great realms of Canada and Australia are each of them much larger than the whole population of Elizabeth's England ; to them we add nearly two millions of white men, largely Dutch in race, in South Africa, and nearly one million, wholly British, in New Zealand. Immigration into Canada thirty years ago was but a moderate stream ; twenty years ago it became a swift-flowing river, swollen mainly from Continental Europe ; during the last ten years its rising flood has been predominantly British. For instance, when Archdeacon Mackay, fifty years ago, began missionary work in Saskatchewan (which is about the size of Germany), there were not 70 white men there ; he reports now that over 70,000 go out there every year, and it is authoritatively estimated that in less than fifty years there will be a hundred million Canadians.

The population of the United States forms the largest community of white men in the world outside Russia, and has been built up by emigration out of every country under heaven. Sixty years ago immigration thither from Germany began to

rival that from Britain, immigration from Scandinavia coming third. In recent years southern and eastern Europe have furnished a large proportion of the immigrants. But, however heterogeneous it is at first, in a comparatively short time this whole influx becomes English in language and American in sentiment. One increasing element in it came from Africa, the sixth continent we have to consider; not by emigration, for the black man will find room enough and food enough in his own vast continent for many a year to come, but by violent deportation in the slave-trade days. The descendants of these unwilling immigrants into North, Central, and South America now considerably outnumber the whole aboriginal population of the two continents: in the United States the negroes are to the Red-men as forty to one already; and they too have become Americans, proud of the Stars and Stripes.

White emigration is to the three new continents and to South Africa; but Europe also sends many of its ablest sons to Asia and the rest of Africa, to develop and civilise and rule—temporary residents, who neither blend with nor displace the natives.

One notable class of emigrants from Europe are not impelled by need or ambition, but driven out by ceaseless persecution. Nearly three-quarters of all the Jews in the world had settled in what was Poland; to-day they are escaping from it in multitudes. In 1858 there were about 27,000 Jews in London; now there are at least 150,000; in the State of New York there are nearly a million. In 1884 some 2,000

from Russia and Rumania took refuge in far-away Nagasaki.

All these six continents, named in order of size, are the scene of missionary enterprise to-day :

ASIA, the largest, with the longest history ; the cradle of creeds, crowded, awakened, and changing rapidly.

AFRICA, the Pagan, the dark, the wronged continent.

NORTH AMERICA, the new Christendom, the progressive, enterprising continent.

SOUTH AMERICA, the torpid, neglected, least known continent.

EUROPE, the old Christendom, the fullest, the most completely known, the ruling continent.

AUSTRALASIA, the smallest and emptiest continent, with the shortest history.

The seer of old beheld—

“ In outline dim and vast,
Their fearful shadow cast
The giant forms of empires on their way
To ruin ; one by one
They tower and they are gone.”

And he saw, as the consummation of all, “ the kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people.” We must enter into his spirit if we would understand the purpose to be fulfilled by the Seven Empires that control and weld together these surging populations to-day as—

“ The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways.”

Why did Britain become the survivor of the five competitors for world-power of earlier times ? Why is it the foremost empire to-day ?

The reasons given on page 156 for the failure of Spain, Portugal, and Holland are clearly insufficient ; political and economic conditions alone do not determine the rise and ruin of empires. Permanent power for any of the prevailing peoples will depend on the answer they give to the ancient question, Am I my brother's keeper ? The children of Cain, who repudiate that responsibility, cannot survive, whatever their industry and mechanical and artistic skill.

For "the Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, the sceptre of rulers ; that smote the peoples in wrath with a continual stroke, that ruled the nations in anger, with a persecution that none restrained."

Since the pitilessly cruel Assyrian fell, these words of Isaiah have been exemplified in not a few conquerors of weaker races, who served themselves of such races instead of serving them. And even some present-day ideas of "doomed" classes and tribes deserve better to be called ancient and Assyrian than modern and scientific. It is true that there have occasionally been peoples, such as the Mexicans, at once highly civilised and deeply depraved, who could only be doomed, as were the Canaanites from whose contagion the rest of mankind was saved by Joshua's exterminating sword. But the mass of the "nature peoples" are to be uplifted, not uprooted ; and one strong white race after another has been entrusted with power over them in turn

and tested thus : a severe test, for it brings out all that is best or all that is worst in them. "Not yours but you" has been the motto of a self-sacrifice as heroic as that of the Moravians ; "Not you, but yours" the motto of a selfish lust of gain as detestable as that of the traffickers in slaves and venomous liquor. Christ may be as clearly known and read in the living epistles of the first as the devil in the living epistles of the last.

The problem grows more acute every day, as the "unrest in India" and the "Ethiopian movement" in South Africa indicate ; and, while the fate of the Empire hangs on its solution, the half-educated voter is at the mercy of such teaching as that given in *A New Catechism of Socialism*. "What is the attitude of Socialism towards backward races? The position of Socialism towards these races is one of absolute non-interference." But leaving them alone is just the thing that we cannot do. Even if every white man left the Tropics, bag and baggage, the effects of his past contact with the coloured man could not be undone. We have chosen to make ourselves directly responsible for them, we are changing all the conditions of their life and thought, we are faced with an alternative we cannot escape—shall we exploit and enslave, or enlighten and uplift ?

"The whole question of the future of the world depends upon the relationship established between the white and the coloured races," said the late Bishop Creighton, "and that depends on whether it is or is not possible to educate the latter up to the

point at which we may regard them as partners with ourselves in the civilisation of the world." "Take the Gospel to these Africans for our sakes, if not for theirs," said a white man to Mr. Springer, an American missionary in Rhodesia. "They will surely drag us down if we, as the superior race, do not lift them up."

Emotion of mere vague pity for the suffering heathen, which dropped an occasional coin into the missionary box because it did not like to think of the unrelieved misery of even distant fellow-creatures, is quite out of date, for they are distant fellow-creatures no longer; their life and ours is one, and, as a matter of simple justice, we owe them reparation for the past and consideration for the future.

"The darkest day for many a heathen tribe was that which first saw the white man step upon its shores," says Dr. Guthrie. They are the worse for us often, apart from any wilful wrong. For instance, when the buffalo died out of settled North America, the Red-man's occupation was gone; he could only, if left to himself, become an idle mendicant, dependent on Government for rations.¹ As white settlers increase in South Africa an ethnographical and social decomposition of the native races goes on steadily, in a mixed multitude that have lost their original nationalities, even their languages being supplanted by a corrupt Dutch garnished with scraps of English. Uninjured, and carefully protected by Government, the Papuan, says the

¹ Mr. S. J. Barrows, Ex-member of Congress, U.S.A.

Bishop of Labuan, is in danger of being reduced by a negative non-religious civilisation to a worse state than he was found in; the old native life having gone never to return.

These races claim reparation as well as consideration; for we may well ask, as the sad tale of the strong trampling on the weak, the crafty overreaching the simple, is unfolded, Which of the white nations is not verily guilty concerning its dark brethren? When Napoleon overcame Spain in Europe, the revolt of all her American colonies was the righteous recompense of the force and cruelty with which she had ruled them. The deep hereditary aversion of the tribes of the Grand Chaco to their oppressors sullenly endures, and it is not many years since unsophisticated Patagonians who came, by invitation, to receive long-due arrears of pay were relentlessly massacred by Spaniards from Argentina; their policy being to clear the country for themselves.

All seafaring nations, British, Dutch, French, Danes, Germans, were concerned with the slave-trade, but to the Portuguese belongs the shame of first bringing to market human wares from Africa. Even to-day they ship natives for S. Thomé and Príncipe under the form of contract labour, but virtually as slaves. Again and again elsewhere they have introduced measles as a devastating plague among primitive peoples. Dr. John G. Paton mentions other white traders who were guilty of this iniquity, openly saying, "Our watchword is to sweep these creatures away, that white men may occupy the soil."

“Hottentots and dogs forbidden to enter,” was the notice that the first Moravian missionary found over the church doors when he went to evangelise the subjects of the Dutch in South Africa. A century later, when Robert Moffat suggested that the servants should be called in to family prayers, a Dutch farmer derisively told his son to call the dogs in too. In 1774 the Dutch Government ordered all Hottentots not already in servitude to be seized and extirpated.

Jacques Cartier reading St. John's Gospel to the Red-men on landing at Hochelaga was an earnest of their better treatment from the French than from any other Europeans.¹ But the Frenchman's record in the South Seas to-day is scandalous. Dr. Frank Paton names, as the three causes of rapid depopulation of the New Hebrides and of ill-gotten gain to both French and British traders, labour traffic, trade in strong drink and firearms, and wanton introduction of diseases.² Peruvian vessels also took advantage of the confidence in white men established by missionaries among the Polynesians to kidnap more than a hundred at a time of their finest young men, till, mainly through a petition of the L.M.S. to the British Government, this heartless treachery was prohibited.

Nearly twenty-five years ago, by international agreement, and with the co-operation of Sir Henry M. Stanley, the “Congo Free State” was inaugurated, a splendid domain of nearly a million square miles ;

¹ Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 187.

² *Lomai of Lenakel*, p. 48.

and one gushing contemporary writer on missions said, after picturing this equatorial Utopia, "King Leopold, losing his dear son, adopted the sable children of Africa as his own. The grandeur of the event overwhelms us." Congo Slave State would have been a far more appropriate name ; since, in return for all the wealth they have helped to pour into the royal treasury, the Bakuka have been ruthlessly maltreated ; and, as Consul Thesiger reports, are not only dwindling in numbers, but sinking to the dead level of less advanced and less capable races. While export and import Tables show that Britain and Germany bring into East Africa more than they take out, for the Congo the exports to Belgium are enormous, the imports—nil. In finest contrast to these lawless deeds glows the zeal to bless the natives of the Congo Balolo Mission. We hope for better things now, however, that King Albert, at his accession, has told his Parliament that "the nation wishes for a policy of humanity and progress" in that shamefully used dependency.

But, as we contemplate Belgians extirpating, and Britons evangelising, we dare not forget that in the past we have been as guilty as others. The Puritans, who had so much to say about liberty and tolerance at home, shot down Red-men as they shot down wolves in the colonies ; and when the desolating war between Indians and English broke out in 1675, John Eliot, at the end of nearly sixty years' devoted labour, saw his flourishing stations destroyed by the white men. When Bishop Berkeley brought his project for a missionary college in

Virginia before William III.'s Attorney-General, and reminded him that Indians had souls, he replied : "Souls ! D—— your souls. Make tobacco." In Canada we have been scrupulously fair to the Red-man, and in consequence have had no Indian wars. But in the days when New South Wales colonists consisted (according to Governor Macquarie) of two classes—those who had been convicted and those who ought to be—their favourite diversion was tying natives to trees, and making targets of them ; and saucers of poisoned milk were set for the natives to find and drink when they came near the settlers' quarters. In 1838, however, a society for the protection of these hapless Bushmen was established, in 1897 the Queensland Government appointed "Protectors" for the aborigines, and much is now done on their behalf. In Africa and Asia the liquor traffic and the opium trade still put us to shame. One hears of a ship whose passengers are missionaries only ; whose cargo consists wholly of "distilled damnation." Reference has already been made to our former misdoings in the Dark Continent and India ; and we may well be thankful that, a hundred years ago, the nation had and used its opportunity of repentance ere its great responsibilities in both regions then had become its far greater responsibilities now.

Ever since we ourselves abolished the slave-trade, noble sons of Britain have fought against it as carried on by others, in the spirit which moved General Gordon to write : "I will break the neck of these slave-raids, even if it costs me my life."

Many newly kidnapped slaves have been rescued by cruisers of the Royal Navy on both sides of Africa ; in 1889 the Imperial British East African Company paid down £3,200 to free slaves ; and the noble Zanzibar Cathedral now stands on the site of the last open slave-market in the world.¹ "The blessings to the African through British rule can scarcely be exaggerated," says the American author of *Daybreak in the Dark Continent*.

Ex-President Roosevelt recently said : "I cannot over-state the terms of admiration in which American missionaries speak of the English rule in India, and of the incalculable benefits it has conferred, and is conferring, upon the natives." Sir Alfred Lyall writes : "There is, at any rate, one Gospel which the English can preach and practise in India, the Gospel of high political morality, which because it is a complete novelty and new light among Asiatic rulers, should, for that reason, be the characteristic note of our administration."²

"Treat every native as if he were a gentleman, and at the same time treat him as if he were a child." Rowland Bateman of Narowal gave this prescription. It has been followed in many parts of the world by Britons, and has never failed. There are, for instance, other white men besides Britons in Guiana, but the term "white men" is reserved for them by the native.

Our nation, as represented by the best section of its

¹ Stock, *History of the C.M.S.*, vol. iii. p. 430.

Bishop Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda*, p. 141.

² *Asiatic Studies*.

press, has, indeed, begun to comprehend that it stands or falls as it is true and just in all its dealing with other races. The leading part taken by founders of missions and by missionaries in bringing about this improved state of action abroad and of public opinion at home, is gradually recognised. But we have yet to comprehend that this race-problem is at bottom a missionary problem, that the civilisation of those entrusted to us cannot be our sufficient, or even our primary, aim. For many are inclined to agree to Gerland's dictum that "the nature peoples must first be made human and then Christian." It is a specious theory, but those who advance it cannot instance in any age a barbarian race that has been humanised apart from religion, while the examples of savages being the worse for contact with white civilisation are only too numerous. The method has been fairly tried, for instance, in New Zealand a hundred years ago, as Dr. Stock relates in chapter xv. of his *History of the C.M.S.* Bishop Colenso once tried it in South Africa with twelve boys carefully selected from the superior race of Zulus. They made rapid progress in purely secular education, and, when he thought them fit to proceed farther, he preached the Gospel to them, explaining that everything taught hitherto had been merely preliminary to this. Next morning, all that was left of his promising protégés was their "civilised" clothing. Dr. Frank Paton describes South Sea Islanders who, after seven years of "civilised" life at Noumea, revert to naked savagery on returning home, and become greater ruffians than ever. His

illustrious father's description of Tannese depravity ends by saying that "those who spoke a little English were the worst and most treacherous characters of all." The heroic James Chalmers, martyred at Dopima in 1901, wrote, after twenty-one years' wide experience of the South Seas: "I have never yet met with a single man or woman, or a single people, that your civilisation without Christianity has civilised. Nowhere have I seen our boasted civilisation civilising, but everywhere have I seen Christianity acting as the true civiliser."¹

"First civilise, then evangelise" is a proved delusion. Says Prof. Wilson S. Naylor, after close study of African problems in many parts of Africa as the companion of Bishop Hartzell: "It is comparatively easy to convert primitive Africans to Christianity, and to establish them against the later introduction of the vices of civilisation. It is supremely difficult to Christianise them after they have become viciously civilised."

"Civilisation without Christianity" is a still more mischievous delusion. Give Cæsar all that is due to him for laws and roads, and it remains true that his emissaries worked for Rome and the Romans, not at all for the unhappy peoples whom they crushed; that a civilised Europe was called out of the inchoate barbarism which overwhelmed the empire by worship of Christ, not of the Emperor. Again, what have the Samurai, reared for centuries on Confucian ethics, ever done to raise the Ainu of Japan? What have the pundits of India, educated

¹ *Life*, pp. 246, 280.

in the transcendental philosophy of the Vedanta, ever done for their non-Brahman compatriots, the most illiterate of civilised peoples to-day? Could we have expected them to do anything, seeing that "Contempt of man is a ground feature of heathenism, going side by side with the deification of men"?¹ The history of all non-Christian societies is a history of decline. One of India's most cultured sons, Mr. Surendra Kumar Datta, thus explains the fact: "Hinduism shows its impotence to correct or even to condemn social wrong. The greatest evil is not caste, nor untruthfulness, nor cruelty to the individual, nor immorality. All these are symptomatic of a diseased mind. The reform needed . . . is nothing less than to give India a new outlook upon the world and human life."²

There is no longer room to question that civilisation in place of barbarism, and reformation from corrupted civilisation, follow upon Christianity, the one power that can both uplift and renew.

Young Africans, whose fathers lived savage lives in filthy huts, now are seen, under the influence of the Congo Balolo mission, building themselves comfortable sanitary homes, filled with furniture of their own making, including bookcases for treasured volumes.

"So long as the natives of the South Seas remained idolaters they manifested no anxiety to improve the outward conditions of their life. The instruction of our artisan missionaries was abso-

¹ Martensen.

² *The Desire of India*, p. 108.

lutely thrown away on them. . . . But as soon as they became Christians, with the new disposition to serve the living God, they awoke to all the higher interests of life.¹

“The first work of a Christian mission is to Christianise, not simply to civilise,” writes the Bishop of Uganda. “Civilisation, in its best sense, follows in the wake of Christianity. The former touches but the mind and body; the latter elevates and ennobles the whole being of man—mind, body, and soul.”

The Bishop of Derry once asked if we could export Shakespeare to Africa as we export the Bible, and received this unexpected reply: “There is already a Shakespeare Society in the C.M.S. Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone” (the College whose first pupil was Samuel Adjai Crowther, first Bishop of the Niger).

As long ago as 1871 an official statement in connexion with the Indian Census acknowledged indebtedness to “the benevolent exertions made by missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great empire in which they dwell.” There have since been still more emphatic official testimonies to the value of missionary work among civilised non-Christian people in India.

This being so, it is not surprising that the Telugu,

¹ Rev. C. Silvester Horne, *Story of the L.M.S.*, p. 40.

Gond, and Bhîl missions, together with those in the Punjab, Kashmir, Lucknow, and Peshawar, were all undertaken by the C.M.S. at the urgent request of military men, or responsible civil officials or laymen on the spot; and that at most of the anniversary meetings of our great missionary societies one of the speakers is an important representative of British government abroad.

History records no instance of the moral character of a nation being changed by a non-religious civilisation, while the multiplied evidence that it hastens the dwindling of the "nature-peoples" and leaves them worse than it found them, that non-Christian Western culture is a grievous failure, forces the State to seek the co-operation of the Church, because it needs the influence of the Church even more than the Church needs the support of the State, and "the Christian conscience is the most valuable asset any Government can have."

The common suspicion that missionaries are not popular at the Foreign Office ill agrees with the fact that these men, who have gone forth ignored, even condemned by the thoughtless multitude, with the single aim of benefiting the heathen, have incidentally benefited their own nation not a little.

In India the loyalty of a million Christians, who would be the first victims of a revolt against Britain, would be of not less value in the present unrest than was the loyalty of a tithe of that number in the Mutiny. Mr. Sarath Kumar Ghosh, endeavouring to interpret his country to ours through the medium of a striking romance, pays

an unqualified tribute to what Britain has done for the regeneration of India, declares that "there is no gulf between England and India that cannot be bridged with a little understanding, a little truthfulness, a little forgiveness—on both sides," and pleads for "a stronger bond of mutual understanding, appreciation, good-will." That bond will be forged as India learns of Christ, and as Britain is true to His teaching.

In South Africa, just unified as the latest born of British States, three moulding forces have been at work—conquest, trade, and missions ; and we are told the first counts for least and last for most. It was the *Pall Mall Gazette*, twenty-five years ago, that said of John Mackenzie (1835–99), L.M.S. missionary to the Bechuanas, that "he will live in the annals of our empire as the man who, at a grave crisis, saved Africa for England."

"In the dangerous risings of 1908," says Mr. Donaldson, the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, "the native Christians were almost without exception on the side of law and order."

Lord Selborne, High Commissioner for South Africa, speaking before the Congregation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope on February 27th, 1909, not only exposed the absurdity of the common statement that the native is spoilt by Christianity and education by giving statistics showing that employers had fault to find with less than 10 per cent. of their "mission" boys in Durban and Johannesburg, but also added this general estimate of Christian work there : "Instead of the missionaries

and the teachers being the subject of reprobation by their South African fellow-whites, they in fact should be regarded as the people who have saved the situation, because they are the people who have taken far the most trouble and who alone have sacrificed themselves in order to ensure that the education of the native, inevitable from the moment that he came into contact with the white man, should contain something of good."

Turning to Central Africa, the fact that the Union Jack was hoisted and the British Protectorate declared in June 1894, seventeen years after the C.M.S. arrived in Uganda in 1877, should be remembered. It is recent and familiar history that the £16,000 put down in 1891 by supporters of the C.M.S., to prolong the days of the Imperial British East Africa Company and save the whole region from barbarism, anarchy, and Moslem misrule, made that Protectorate possible. Once again, it was the bravery of Christian Baganda that saved it in the Sudanese mutiny of 1897.

No happier illustration of government and mission working together in single-hearted desire for the welfare of the natives could be found than the story told in Bishop Tucker's *Eighteen Years in Uganda*, except perhaps the account of the "Triple Flag Hoisting" in the Life of W. G. Lawes of New Guinea. More remote, but not less memorable, is the fact that the very existence of the flourishing colony of New Zealand is due to the courage and faith of the missionary-hearted Anglican chaplain

Samuel Marsden and his friend Samuel Leigh, a Wesleyan missionary.

China now owns her great debt to missionaries, and acknowledges, as the Chinese Ambassador did at the Mansion House in March 1909, that her Emperor has no more loyal subjects than the million of Chinese Protestant Christians. We cannot forget that the Legations besieged in Peking from June 20th to August 14th, 1900, owed their lives to the 2,400 native Christians also within its walls. "We should have been lost without them," wrote the wife of Major Conger, the American minister.¹

It is the missionary who keeps us up to the spirit of ministering to the subject races instead of making them minister to us; and missionary and imperial sentiment are sure to be more and more closely allied in the future. "I recognise," says Sir William Wilson Hunter, "in missionary work an expiation of national wrong-doing in the past and an aid to national right-doing in the future. I believe the missionary instinct forms the necessary spiritual complement of the aggressive genius of our English race."

The missionary has not only saved the coloured man from extermination and the white man from the shame of exterminating, he is showing that common faith is the only permanent bond of empire. Far from being the fad of a few busybodies or visionaries, his enterprise is integral to our national welfare as well as to the world's welfare. For ours is the third empire that set itself to

¹ *Letters from China*, p. 158.

build up an enduring civilisation ; it is the first that can, if it will, do so with success. Rome aimed at the destruction of national feeling ; we aim at deepening true patriotism. And, as the solidarity of mankind becomes a moving and inspiring thought, Christianity works in breaking down barriers of prejudice and antagonism between race and race ; as it worked 1,000 years ago, in welding together one strong English nation out of warring Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Normans.

The Lambeth Conference of 1908, for instance, decidedly refused to draw a colour-line in the Church. For the Church, with a Gospel that can uplift and draw together all men everywhere, looks with hope on race-problems, acknowledged to be the despair of statesmen. "What hinders the progress of Christianity also hinders the solution of race-problems. Christian love is the only cure to racial antipathy and misunderstanding," said Mr. P. Y. Saiki, Japanese delegate to the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. A compatriot of his picturesquely illustrated this sentiment when, on rising to address the Keswick Convention of 1907, just after the close of the Russo-Japanese War, he grasped, amid loud cheers, the hand of a Russian nobleman who had been telling his story of Christian work in Russia. Not the English which they spoke equally well, but the one faith was the bond between them. Some time ago, on the deck of a steamer, a Maori and a Hindu, knowing no word of each other's tongues, met, and found, through the Hebrew basis of their common religion,

a common language. For, as they shook hands smiling, after pointing to each other's Bibles, one said "Alleluia," and the other answered "Amen"—a trivial illustration of what is far from trivial.

A hundred years ago the policy of Parliament, the instinct of self-preservation in Englishmen who were doing the work of the Empire abroad, and the opinion of our religious leaders, were all arrayed against the consistent, far-sighted Christians who inaugurated modern Missions. Now, in face of the multiplied impartial testimony to their value, and to the peril of godlessness to white man and coloured man alike, it is left to the least thoughtful and instructed to gird at missions. And as we study this open page of history—one of God's greatest lesson-books for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear—we ask with Elihu, "Who teacheth like God?"

CHAPTER XII

THE SEVEN RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

“Though all the windes of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors in a free and open encounter?”—JOHN MILTON, *Areopagitica*.

ONE outcome of the running to and fro of many peoples, and of the unifying of the world under Seven Empires, is that all its Seven Religions—Paganism, Parsiism, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity—are at close quarters as they have never been before, acting and reacting upon each other; so that missionary work is carried on under wholly new conditions. Not reckoning Nepal, and some smaller territories, there are, for the first time in history, only three lands in which the Gospel cannot be freely preached—Tibet, Arabia, and Afghanistan—the lands containing the sacred cities of the two other missionary religions, Lhasa and Mecca, and the “buffer” state between the two great empires of Britain and Russia, whose railway termini at Candahar and Herat are separated by its width of 350 miles. Even these closed lands have some contact with Christendom,

and some pioneers of the Gospel have yearned over them. Ten years ago we were told that the Dalai Lama read *The Times* ; in August 1904 the British expedition to Lhasa cleared his dungeons of their despairing prisoners in the name of the Christian Emperor of India ; and in 1910 he takes refuge on British territory in Buddha's native land as a fugitive from the soldiery of the greatest realm in which Buddhism is professed. Tibet originally received Buddhism from Kashmir ; so in 1885 the Moravians occupied Leh, capital of Ladakh (Kashmirian Tibet), as a vantage post for evangelising Tibet from Kashmir, by Tibetans. Arabia itself was claimed when the Aden Mission was founded by the Hon. Ion Keith Falconer, Cambridge Professor of Arabic, who laid down his life there in 1887 ; when Bishop French, of Lahore, closed a long and fruitful missionary career in India by daring the Moslem in his stronghold at Muscat, dying there in 1891 ; and when Dr. Samuel Zwemer afterwards laboured at Bahrein for fourteen years. Not a single Christian is to be found to-day within the borders of Afghanistan, but there can hardly be a town or even a large village there to which some patient has not returned from the C.M.S. Hospital at Peshawar, to tell what Christians are doing for the love of Christ. We hear that the transformation wrought in the lives of the people of Uganda by Christianity so impressed some of the Mohammedan troops from India quartered there that, on their return home, they went to the C.M.S. missionary at Quetta to ask for Bibles. In Benares, the

citadel of Hinduism, there are hundreds of Indian Christians to-day.

Ours is not, however, the only religion that has free course. The leader of the Jewish refugees at Nagasaki, already mentioned, married a Japanese, and she with her two sons and her daughter adopted the Jewish faith. An eccentric Englishman of dubious antecedents led the devotions of two or three compatriots in a Moslem mosque lately set up in one of our great cities; the request of two Europeans to be enrolled at Matara as Buddhist priests lately reinforced the belief of the Ceylonese in Buddhism; ¹ in 1899 the Bengali Sadhu who represented Hinduism at Chicago in 1893 admitted as a Sanyasi an elderly well-to-do American lady said to have been converted by reading the Upanishads. In fact, the yellow-robed Swami who talks Hinduism in Christian phraseology will always command a select coterie of admiring disciples among "cultured" American damsels professing sentimental homage for Krishna.² Dr. J. P. Jones and others conversant with Hinduism declare that Christian Science, announced with flourish of trumpets as a new Western religion, is but the subtle, evasive idealism of India unequally yoked to a form of Christian truth and ritual.³

What, then, is the geographical distribution and relative strength of the Seven Religions to-day,

¹ *S.P.G. Report*, 1906; cf. Stock, *History of the C.M.S.*, vol. iii. p. 543.

² Cf. C. A. Mason, *The Little Green God*.

³ *India's Problem—Krishna or Christ?*

when all alike have a fair field everywhere? We give large general statistics, disregarding stray proselytes to Eastern cults in the West or changes through recent immigration.

Europe contains three-fifths of the Christians in the world, at least three-fourths of the Jews, and a few million Moslems. Asia contains all the Hindus, all the Buddhists, all the Parsis, about three-fourths of the Moslems, many million Pagans, a small number of Jews, and a growing number of Christians. Africa contains probably two-thirds (95,000,000) of the uncounted Pagans, about a quarter of the Moslems, and some 9,000,000 Christians. In North and South America and Australasia a growing Christian majority confronts a dwindling Pagan minority.

The familiar fact that it is easiest to convert a Pagan and hardest to convert a Moslem is an instance of the general law that a lower religion is always ready to give place to a higher one. In A.D. 1 the world was almost wholly Pagan; in 1910 it contains no self-governing Pagan State, and Paganism is everywhere evanescent. Many people in Yoruba regard heathenism as a thing to be ashamed of, says Mr. T. Jays, and describe idols as "things that children play with." The few remaining Lubare temples in Uganda have to be searched for, their priests are in hiding, their charms have been publicly burned in large numbers; and in the C.M.S. schools at Mengo 4,000 boys are being educated who know nothing about the old heathenism. In Oceania ethnologists begin to com-

plain that so few remnants of picturesque Paganism are left, and Dr. R. N. Cust was of opinion that, by the end of the twentieth century, idolatry and local forms of worship will have ceased to exist. John Bunyan heard that "Giant Pagan had been dead many a year"—a premature rumour, which indicates how little conscious his generation was of vast, untouched heathenism; but, using "Pagan" in its strict sense, our children will see him dead indeed. Perishing Paganism does not always mean conquering Christianity, however. It often means perishing Pagans, or Paganism superseded by one of the other prevailing religions. Not only because they are most likely to be won, but because if we do not win them now there will presently be no Pagans left to win, is the call from Pagans urgent, as instinct of self-preservation drives them to one or other of the organised creeds. Of this the Census statistics of Chota Nagpur are a good illustration. Whole tribes returned as Pagans in 1891 appear as Hindus in 1901, and Christianity and Islam have made equally great progress there.

Passing to the two non-Christian religions that least resemble Paganism, Parsiism and Judaism—both ancient creeds with honourable records preserved by and preserving famous races, not proselytising, nor easily displaced by other religions—we observe that the many cultured men and women among their adherents are now reading Christian books freely. Christian Monotheism obviously tinges the latest official declarations of the Parsis concerning Him whom they worship, and Parsis have been

heard to describe themselves as loving Christ as they love Buddha, because He was great and good and loving. The Parsis (of whom there are less than 100,000 altogether) have given India famous evangelists in Sorabji Kharsedji and Ruttonji Nowroji, both in Anglican orders.

Jews refer to our Lord, even when they do not own Him as their Lord, in a new tone of honour, almost of homage ; one said lately, " If the Messiah whom we have so long expected does not come soon, we shall have to acknowledge that your Christian Messiah was the true Messiah. We all recognise Him now as the finest product of humanity." Prof. J. M. Asher, interviewed by the *Jewish Chronicle* last year, describes the Jewish immigrants to New York as thoroughly Americanised and at the same time de-Judaised ; 90 per cent. of them are, in his opinion, likely to be lost to Judaism. Never before has its power to survive been so severely tested ; we are reminded of Conybeare and Howson's comparison of modern Judaism to the shapeless fragments of the block of marble which remain when a statue is completed, by the pathetic spectacle of this people falling away in our era of change and tolerance from the faith held firmly through so many centuries of cruel persecution ; and every true Christian heart must long for the twelve million Jews now in the world to find in Christ the crown and completion of their enlightened faith. Whether they are being won to Him in any number, is a question that we leave for the present.

Attention must now be concentrated on the four Prevailing Religions, which among them account for about 1,375,000,000, or 89 per cent. of the world's inhabitants. The religious future of mankind plainly lies with the survivor of these; and in the other three Christianity has rivals and opponents far more formidable than the discredited classical Paganism of the Roman Empire, the crude nature-worships of the barbarian conquerors of Europe, or the Paganism of uncivilised races to-day. It is only just entering upon organised conflict with them, a conflict of fundamentally opposed ideas; and decisive victory over any one of them would be the greatest triumph that it has ever obtained.¹

Let us set them and Christianity side by side, to consider their present strength and distribution, their relation to each other and to the great branches of the human family. All are alike in having won their greatest triumphs over Paganism; Hinduism and Islam are still strongest in their original seats; Christianity and Buddhism have been expelled from the lands that gave them birth.

Hinduism, an Aryan religion, 3,500 years old, not found outside India, is probably the strongest non-Christian religion. Hoary as it is tough, it has shown its power to endure and adapt itself to changing circumstances again and again, and the conflict with it is like a conflict with the hydra or the incoming tide: it yields only to gather fresh strength for aggression; it absorbs and so

¹ Haigh's *Leading Ideas of Hinduism*.

disarms where it cannot destroy, being creedless, amorphous and plastic. It cast out Buddhism; modifies Islam more than it has been modified by it; and now hopes to defeat its third great antagonist, Christianity, by similar methods.

Buddhism is also an Aryan religion, 2,400 years old, probably seen at its best to-day in Burma and Japan; also found in China, Korea, Tibet, Mongolia, Ceylon, Assam, and Annam. It has supplanted Paganism and supplemented the indigenous ethical and philosophical systems of China and Japan, advancing by persuasion, not by force. It is not found outside Asia nor in Western Asia; its main triumph has been over Turanian races. "It may be safely asserted that no Aryan race while existing in anything like purity was ever converted to Buddhism, or could permanently adopt its doctrines."¹ De Bunsen likened it to a dose of laudanum administered to the wilder races of Asia to quiet them till the time came for embracing Christianity. We are tired of hearing that there are more followers of Buddha than of Christ in the world—a rash inference from Sir Edwin Arnold's statement² that "More than one-third of mankind owe their religious and moral ideas to this illustrious prince"; for he reckons Hinduism as having been influenced by the Buddhism it expelled, which certainly does not mean that all the Hindus are Buddhists. Statistics which credit all the unknown population of China to Buddhism,

¹ Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 57.

² *The Light of Asia*, Preface.

ignore the fact that, while it is a widely popular cult, supplementing the ancestor-worship which is the real religion of China, no Chinaman would characterise himself as a Buddhist; for it is an officially proscribed, though actually tolerated religion. They also ignore the wide difference between original Buddhism, non-idolatrous and agnostic, represented by the Burmese who, in answer to Bishop Milman, said that, while his heart bade him pray, he was praying to no one and asking for nothing, and the religion—pre-eminent among religions for the multitude of its idols—which is called Buddhism in China and Japan to-day. The difference between the Peruvian Roman Catholic and the Baptist missionary of the Regions Beyond Mission sent to preach the Gospel to him is small compared with the difference between the Burmese Buddhist and the Japanese votary of Omoto-fu (Amida Buddha) who beseeches the radiant, divine, and merciful being in whom he puts his trust to admit him into the Jodo land of immortality. Sir M. Monier Williams was of opinion that there are less than a hundred million Buddhists, properly so called, in the world.

In spite of certain superficial resemblances which mislead the half-informed, the differences between Buddhism and Christianity are profound and insuperable; but these religions have seldom been in direct antagonism. In the Tokio International Exhibition of 1907 might be seen a statue of Buddha and a tent for Christian services, both permitted by authorities who professed neither religion; and of

late years many a Christian sermon has been preached in Buddhist temples in China.

Islam is a Semitic religion, 1,300 years old, probably seen at its best to-day in Egypt; also found in S.E. Europe (Turkey), S.W. Asia and S. Asia (Turkey, Arabia, Persia, India, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Malaysia, Sumatra, and China) and in North Africa (Morocco, Algiers, Sudan); it has three capitals, political, religious and literary—Constantinople, Mecca, and Cairo—in three continents. It has supplanted all the other religions, except perhaps Judaism, advancing always by force. Its main triumphs have been over Semitic peoples, but it has won some Turanian peoples also. The Persians are the only Aryans it has ever permanently subdued, and they are neither pure Aryans, nor orthodox Moslems. Its domains, though wide-spread, are contiguous, and inhabited by similar peoples. It has hardly been in serious conflict with Buddhism. A pretentious Popular Educator lately asserted off-hand that Mohammed has more followers than Christ; the fact being that there are certainly two, possibly almost three, Christians in the world for every Moslem.

The fundamental truth of Islam that God is One is likewise the fundamental truth of Christianity; the two religions move, to a certain extent, in a common realm of thought, use the same phraseology, and argue from the same premisses. Nearer to our own religion in its teaching than any other save Judaism, Islam nevertheless stands out among the non-Christian religions as the only one that is

not merely non-Christian but anti-Christian. Its relation to Christianity, all through its history, has been one of relentless, unswerving antagonism, what they have in common seeming to widen the spiritual gulf between and to accentuate their irreconcilable divergences.

Christianity is, on the human side, a Semitic religion, 1,900 years old, and no Christian could give an impartial opinion as to where it is seen at its best. It is the only religion of Eastern origin which has won the West ; its deepest impressions have been made on the white and the darkest races ; it has touched the olive and yellow races least ; though present-day history in China and Japan promises soon to modify this statement. It has supplanted all the other religions, and won representatives of every race. Asia is the scene of its greatest conflicts now, and its adherents are nearly equal in number to genuine Buddhists, Hindus, and Moslems all put together.

“ Yes, you are mostly heathen, you Britishers,” retorted an American, provoked by an Englishman’s assertion that the British Empire is the largest ever seen, since it includes India’s millions. King Edward rules as sovereign or suzerain all the Hindus, almost all the Parsis, more than one-third of all the Moslems, about forty millions of Pagans, and more than nine million Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma, etc. Nowhere are Jews so influential as in his dominions, and only one-seventh of all his subjects are even nominally Christian. Is it not time that we left off talking about *foreign* missions ?

With the figures in Professor Jordan's *Comparative Religion* as our basis, we now tabulate results, crediting Sikhism to Hinduism, to which it tends more and more to approximate; and first including and then excluding China and Japan from the Buddhist total.

Christians ..	520,000,000	Christians ..	520,000,000
Buddhists ..	438,000,000	Hindus ..	212,000,000
Hindus ..	212,000,000	Moslems ..	205,000,000
Moslems ..	205,000,000	Buddhists ..	130,000,000
		Confucianism,	
		etc.	308,000,000
	1,375,000,000		1,375,000,000

MONOTHEISTS :

Jews	10,000,000
Christians	520,000,000
Moslems	205,000,000
	735,000,000

POLYTHEISTS :

Buddhists, etc.	438,000,000
Hindus	212,000,000
Pagans	153,000,000
Jains, Parsis, etc.	2,000,000
	805,000,000

Total Population of the World	
	1,540,000,000

More significant than even these statistics is the retrograde condition of all Buddhist and Moslem lands, excluding China and Japan. They are "side-tracked" (if the expressive Americanism may be used), and this is the inevitable result of the spiritual, moral, and intellectual influence of these creeds. Also, while the least advanced Christian

lands—in South America, for instance—are least typically Christian—that is, have a religion least like that of the New Testament—the most typically Moslem and Buddhist lands are the most stagnant and declining.

“Christianity is the religion in the command of whose professors is lodged a proportion of power far exceeding its superiority of numbers, and this power is both moral and material. The art, the literature, the systematised industry, invention and commerce—in one word the power of the world, are almost wholly Christian.”¹ “The nations that have accepted the Christian faith hold in their hands the civilisation and the practical sovereignty of the globe.”²

¹ W. E. Gladstone.

² Barrows, *Christianity the World Religion*.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DECADENCE OF BUDDHISM AND MOHAMMEDANISM

“Surely there is no morning for them.”—ISAIAH.

BUDDHISM is said to be gaining adherents in Tartary ; to be progressing as fast as Christianity in Ceylon and in Burma. But these incidental successes do not alter the fact that, as a whole, it is the declining religion of declining peoples. Siam was its last conquest, 1,300 years ago, and the King of Siam is the only Buddhist monarch in the world to-day. Apart from the fact that his kingdom is dominated by French influence, we are told that, when he lost his wife some years ago, he sent for a copy of the New Testament, saying he found nothing in Buddhism to comfort him. If we turn to the greatest land where Buddhism prevails, we find the high-minded and enlightened Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan, Chang Chih Tung (who died in 1909) in his remarkable book, *China's Only Hope*, looking not to Buddhism but to Confucianism. Japanese Government Readers put into the child's mouth this account of a Buddhist festival : “Father gets his seed ready for sowing, mother receives her friends, we children have a holiday, and grand-

mother goes to the temple." Though the mass of the people in the country districts of Japan are, as of old, Shinto with a Buddhist veneer, in the cities the approaches to Buddhist temples are described as grass-grown and deserted.

No great historic movements, no scientific research, no first-rate literature and art, stand to the credit of Buddhism, unless we reckon its influence on the culture of Japan. Sir Francis Younghusband, describing the Buddhist priesthood in its stronghold Tibet, says the universally revered Ti Rimpochi was appallingly ignorant and inconceivably unbusiness-like, had little intellectual power, and but a small modicum of spirituality; and that, after arguing and chatting with all the leading men, both lay and ecclesiastical, at Lhasa, he formed a low estimate of their mental calibre. "I have known many Buddhist monks," says a missionary of long experience at Leh, "but I never met one in the least like the delightful old gentleman in Kipling's *Kim*."

And yet what a noble character Buddha was, and what a pure code of morals he taught! Why, then, did Buddhism fail? St. Paul can scarcely have heard of it, nevertheless, the key to its failure may be found in these inspired words of his: "If there had been a law given which could make alive, verily righteousness would have been of the law"; and in the profound apophthegm in which he summed up heathenism as "Without God—without Hope—without Christ." Buddha, moved with the pitifulness of a great mercy, saw

that men were miserable, and sought to save them from suffering ; he did not see that they were tied and bound with the chain of their sins, and that sin is the root of all suffering. He gave a good law ; he could not impart power to keep it. As to God, he was agnostic, for he said, " I do not see in the world above, or in the world around, any being whom it would be proper for me to honour." As to hope, he was dogmatic, for he said, " Wherever there is being there is suffering. Unnumbered deaths and re-births lie before us." As to salvation, he said to a suppliant, " Think not that thou art come to one able to be a refuge to thee." In Buddhism, every man must be his own saviour, must work out his own salvation unaided.

We may measure the whole distance between the Buddha (the " Enlightened One ") who taught thus, and the Christ (the " Anointed One "), by comparing the above utterances with such words of our Lord as " This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ " ; " I am the Resurrection and the Life : he that believeth on Me, though he die, yet shall he live ; and whosoever liveth and believeth on Me shall never die " ; " Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden ; and I will give you rest." His was the pitifulness of a far greater, even a divine mercy, that could loose from sin and bring in the living hope, while the hopelessness of Buddhism made Buddhists hopeless adherents of a decadent creed.

Four often-expressed opinions about Islam are :

(1) That it is still a great force, advancing more than Christianity: the fact being that the lands in which it holds undisputed sway are sinking into utter decrepitude, and that its progress is not comparable to the progress of Christianity either in extent or in character. (2) That it works for the civilising and uplifting of the races it subdues: the fact being that, while "it has sometimes uplifted savages, it has slain, like a savage, all civilisation." (3) That its Monotheism paves the way for Christianity: the fact being that no non-Christian is so hard to win as the Moslem. (4) That Christian missions among Moslems are hopeless: the fact being that such missions, though laborious and difficult, are hopeful to-day as they never were.

Dr. Koelle compares Islam's present condition of fitful activity to the green branches sometimes seen on trees already, and for a long time, decayed at the core from age. Its religious ascendancy has always been bound up with dominant political power, which is apparently at an end for ever. While the Sultan, its official head, has 15,000,000 Moslem subjects, the Emperor of China has 20,000,000, Queen Wilhelmina 29,000,000, and King Edward 84,000,000. In fact, more than two-thirds of all the Moslems in the world are under Christian rule, and less than one-sixth of them under Moslem rule. Though it still has a grip on two continents, and a precarious foothold on a third, and reaches from Sierra Leone to China, from the Balkans to Sumatra, its bounds are scarcely as wide as they were in A.D. 732.

Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Arabia are the only independent Moslem powers ; Morocco being under French, and Egypt and Zanzibar under British, protection and dictation. Turkey has shrunk into a mere shred of its former self, and, while the old Byzantine emperors, ruling a smaller and less productive area, are said to have had a revenue of £130,000,000, the Sultan's revenue is less than £18,000,000. The old polity, under which one man was imprisoned for fifteen years for reading *The Times*, has happily given place at last to a new polity under which men can buy and discuss the Bible openly—a polity which is, however, subversive of the root-ideas of Islam. Persia, once the greatest power in the world, has been reduced by famine and misgovernment to an abject condition as a third-rate Asiatic state, and is steadily retrograding to barbarism, says Dr. St. Clair Tisdall who knows it well. Even men in high position are barely able to spell, and while its area is more than fifty-two times that of Holland and Belgium, its population, scarcely 9,000,000, is less than three-quarters of their united population. But the reforming party are now saying openly, "We care for the mullahs no longer," and inviting Europeans to come and teach them. Arabia, unconquered because uncoveted, is the least known of all lands to-day. Tunis, which as a Roman province held 18,000,000, now has only 1,500,000 inhabitants.

India contains the largest Moslem community in the world, and is the one country in which Islam confronts Christianity and heathenism on absolutely

equal terms. And, whereas Hinduism steadily advances at the expense of Paganism, and Christianity advances more rapidly than it has ever done elsewhere, Islam, according to such authorities as Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir W. W. Hunter, has made no advance relative to population in recent years; though, as a casteless creed, it always attracts those who are of lowest caste or who have lost caste altogether. Before the system of competitive examinations was established most of the government posts open to natives were held by Moslems—a relic of their long traditional supremacy. But though an impartial Government gives special encouragement—schooling on very easy terms, etc.—to Moslem youths, that each section may be proportionately represented, they cannot hold their own.¹ Less than a seventh, for instance, of the posts in Bengal are held by Moslems, the reason being that only 6 per cent. of their men are literate and practically all are sons of illiterate mothers.² To India Moslems “have come in hordes again and again, but they have scarcely touched the soul of the people.”³

¹ The Rev. E. M. Wherry, for thirty years a Presbyterian missionary in India, is of opinion that if British conquest had not enabled Islam to reorganise its forces and propagate its tenets without let or hindrance it would have been wiped out. His statement gives a clue to present Moslem professions of loyalty to Britain. (*Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East*, ch. ii.)

² Rev. J. H. Wyckoff, of the Dutch Reformed Church: *The East and the West* (July 1905).

³ S. Lane Poole, *Mediæval India*.

Islam has lost its hold on Spain, Sicily, Greece, the Balkan territories, and Madagascar, which was Moslem in the time of Marco Polo. Not being so far past its zenith as Buddhism, however, it is still gaining elsewhere. It has won Kaffiristan in late years, and advanced in Kashgaria, Baltistan, and Yarkund, also among the pariahs on the Malabar coast.

Its most important recent successes have been in Africa, but there is much exaggeration as to the extent, growth, and character of its influence there. "In Cairo hardly a month passes but one hears of some perversion to Islam."¹ On the other hand, there is the dawn of a Reformation in the Coptic Church, promising to make it evangelistic, and the baptism of converted Moslems into it is by no means uncommon.² Concerning the fancy pictures of an organisation for the conversion of the world to Islam, with headquarters at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Professor D. S. Margoliouth says that those who know most about Al-Azhar know least about such an organisation, and conversely.

Moslems have widened their area by exterminating the male population and settling whole districts themselves; abolition of slavery has aided their advance, for they begin to convert when they can no longer reduce to bondage; and as the hatred of Islam, engendered by the appalling barbarities of slave-raiding, wanes, Islam wins its way. British

¹ *Life of D. M. Thornton*, p. 69.

² Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, *The Reproach of Islam*, p. 277.

occupation; by establishing peace and tolerance, has favoured Islam in Egypt, the Sudan, West and East Africa, and other places. For instance, the warlike Ibos formerly kept Moslems and all foreigners at arms' length. Now, under British rule, Moslem traders are free to settle and proselytise, and where there were two mosques in Yoruba five or six years ago there are now between forty and fifty. Dr. Walter Miller believes that in fifty years the pagan peoples of Africa will be all either Moslems or Christians; and the former alternative is not one that any well-informed Christian can contemplate with satisfaction. For, while Islam may raise those whose condition is even lower than that of the Arabs of Mohammed's day, it does this at the cost of stereotyping them at its own level for ever. "The Koran has frozen human thought; to obey it is to abandon progress," says Dr. Fairbairn. Canon C. H. Robinson¹ has shown how little ground there is for crediting the Moslems with the advanced civilisation of the Hausas to-day, while Dr. Zwemer successfully questions the lavish praise of their mediæval culture.²

Is a reformed Islam possible? The rationalising movement centred in the college at Aligarh, founded by Sir Sayad Ahmad Khan, is strong, but tends, according to one Indian observer,³ to be merely social and political. The move-

¹ *Mohammedanism: Has it any Future?*

² *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam.*

³ *The Mohammedan World of To-day* (1906), Ed. Zwemer and Wherry; Morrison's *New Ideas in India*.

ment for modernising Al-Azhar at Cairo by adding a foreign tongue to its curriculum provoked such tremendous opposition, and was so promptly suppressed, that its instigator, Sheikh Mohammed Abdul, died of disappointment.

Failure of Islam as a world-religion is due to more than one cause. It is essentially Oriental, nay, Arab, and unable to adapt itself to different races and ages. Its lack of spirituality, and commonplace and formal character, which made it, as we saw, widely acceptable at first, involved ultimate failure, for it could never satisfy men's higher nature. The three institutions of slavery, polygamy, and facile divorce, which are not merely tolerated by it but integral parts of it as a social and religious system, make "home," in any sense the word has to a Christian, impossible. The deep, deliberate degradation of women which all three involve fully accounts for the irretrievable decadence of Moslem lands, and for the startling but well-authenticated fact that, in more than one land, the morals of the heathen idolater compare favourably with those of the Moslem believer in One God. Livingstone said: "Heathen Africans are much superior to Mohammedan." One who studied, as only a woman missionary can, both Hindu and Mohammedan life in India from within during three years, wrote: "Acquaintance with Mohammedanism is a horrible experience. It is truly a vile thing. I wish the globe-trotters who admire the pious cant which is exhibited outwardly could know a little of the loathsomeness of its real

working.”¹ There is an Arab proverb which says : “If your friend has been to Mecca, trust him not. If he has been there twice, avoid him. If he has made the pilgrimage three times, flee from him as you would from Satan himself.”

Sir William Muir did not overstate when he declared that the sword of Mohammed and the Koran are the most stubborn enemies of civilisation, liberty, and truth which the world has known.

No wonder, then, that men who have understanding of the times see the hosts of Islam wavering in the combat, in spite of menacing talk of a new Pan-Islamic Jihâd against the world. “To me it seems that, as a nation and a religion, we are dying out,” said the Nawab of Haidarabad to Dr. St. Clair Tisdall. “Unless a miracle of reform occurs, we Mohammedans are doomed to extinction.”

Testimonies to the same effect from other Moslems might easily be added.

“The ultimate test of a religion is its continuous fitness to elevate the faith and character of man. It must possess forces which appeal to the indestructible religious demands of the spirit of man,” says the Bishop of Ripon. Tried by this test Buddhism and Islam alike fail.

Buddha was a disinterested, self-sacrificing teacher, who had no revelation of divine truth to give. His teaching—morality without religion—was ineffective, despite the goodness of his life. He died foretelling that his doctrine would pass away, though another Buddha might arise to revive it.

¹ Irene Petrie, *Missionary to Kashmir*, p. 242.

Mohammed was an ambitious, self-centred teacher, who had a great truth to proclaim. His teaching—religion without morality—set God afar off, and left men's lives unholy. He foretold that the last days would see a universal apostasy from Islam, and Moslems now explain its impotence, as compared with Christianity, by saying that the devil is the god of this world and Christians are his children.

Christ alone lived the perfect life and gave the perfect teaching, and also by His one oblation of Himself once offered, made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. The last word of His earthly ministry was *νενίκηκα* ("I have overcome") and all the centuries since have been proving that it was a true prophecy.

CHAPTER XIV

CHRISTIANITY CONQUERING AND TO CONQUER

“History is an excellent cordial for the drooping courage.”
BISHOP LIGHTFOOT.

“THROUGH all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ ” we must pass to realise the progress made by Christianity during the greatest missionary age in the history of the world—the nineteenth century ; to appreciate that, while the two other missionary religions are like machines working for a while and then running down, the religion of Christ is like a tree, growing as it lives and living as it grows.

In 1600 Christian Powers ruled about 7 per cent. of the earth's surface ; they now rule 82 per cent., five of the world-empires being Christian, the other two looking to Christendom for light and guidance. In 1800 one in five of the world's inhabitants was Christian in name, in 1900 one in three ; and more than half of the non-Christian inhabitants of the world are now under Christian rule. Asia contains the only independent non-Christian Powers ; and, save for insignificant remnants of aborigines still Pagan, all the inhabitants of four of the six continents are nominally Christians. In every

country save Arabia, Tibet, and Afghanistan there are Christian communities ; and in many lands, not reckoned Christian, strong churches. And the One God, acknowledged by none save the little nation of Israel 1900 years ago, is acknowledged by almost half the inhabitants of the world to-day.

No more glorious chapters have ever been added to the unfinished Acts of the Apostles than those added in our own age, and we have outgrown the arguments of former defenders of the Faith to prove that miracles must have accompanied the earliest Christian preaching. Historical research and modern science have given us less mechanical ideas of miracle ; and we can appeal to the far-reaching success during the last century of the Gospel, unaided by force or motives of worldly gain, as a grander manifestation of its divine origin, and of the divine power behind it, than any mere "wonders." What miracle could be greater than the transformation of a violent, vicious, and filthy savage into a sober, clean-living ; devout and missionary-hearted Christian ?

Even in numbers, recent records hold their own with the most striking records of the past. In 1869 the Christians in Madagascar were estimated at 37,000 ; in 1870 they rose to 250,000 ; recently in the Khassia Hills of Bengal 8,000 were converted in a few months ; in 1908, in the Telugu country, 2,000 Sudras were baptized in a few months ; and similar large ingatherings have taken place in Uganda, Korea, and Manchuria in recent years. We read, it is true, of 10,000 subjects of King

Ethelbert of Kent being baptized on Christmas Day, 597 ; of Boniface of Devon (who became archbishop in 732, the year of the battle of Tours) baptizing 100,000 in Hessa and Thuringia. But even if these numbers are trustworthy, they belong to days when royal patronage of the faith made Paganism unfashionable. The largest and least satisfactory total among the modern figures given above is from Madagascar, where Queen Ranavalona set all her subjects the example of professing Christianity ; the late King George of Tonga, and the four Christian kings now in Central Africa have exercised a somewhat similar influence. But recent progress has seldom been accelerated thus ; and in not a few cases Christians have risked and lost all, even life itself, in making their Christian profession.

We must also remember that the success of missions is far in advance of its statistical results ; the very fact of having penetrated so deeply into the midst of non-Christian peoples, and gained permanent foothold among them, is in itself a victory, and the converts already gathered are the beginnings of a harvest which (as Warneck remarks) becomes seed again. Numbers therefore, considerable as they are, form but an inadequate gauge of the progress of the Gospel.

We look once more at the three historic divisions of Christendom,¹ beginning with the Eastern Church, the one that has evangelised least and thriven least. In A.D. 500 the churches ruled from Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria rose as chains of imposing

¹ Cf. p. 106.

and immovable mountains. Then the enemy came in like a flood, submerging all but their summits. To-day they appear as islets standing out of a sea of Islam in starved isolation from each other and the rest of Christendom.

The Church in North Africa was never missionary, and passed utterly away. The hapless Europeans kidnapped to be sold as slaves to the Moors were the only Christians there in the Middle Ages. The only trace of Christianity to-day in Morocco, Algiers, and Tripoli (that is, in a region once wholly Christian), is a tattooed cross, which is meaningless to them, on the foreheads of some of the Kabyle women. Modern missionary work is in its earliest stages there. Christianity appears in its most Judaised and unspiritual form in the Coptic and Abyssinian churches.¹ The Copts are the brain of Egypt to-day, and their Church represents the learning and lineage and language of ancient Egypt and the great church of Alexandria, for its patriarch claims to be the 112th successor of St. Mark. Abyssinia is the one example of a country at once barbarian and Christian, but its Church is only just alive in the heart of the Pagan continent.

Passing to Asia, there are the Chaldeans or Nestorians in Kurdistan, so shut away in their mountains that when the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission reached them they were amazed to discover that there were other Christians in the world besides themselves ; the Armenians, scattered far and wide through the Levant, many of whom

¹ See Dean Stanley's *Eastern Church*.

have been true martyrs lately ; and the Syrians, whose bishop, namesake and direct successor of the great Ignatius, occupies Antioch, the oldest see in Christendom, and has the Syrian Church in India under his care also.

Lastly, in Europe the Greek Church, with its daughter Churches in Russia, Bulgaria, Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, stands as the living representative of the Hellenic race. Constantinople is still its sacred city.

Long abandoned by Western Christendom to their fate, and ground down under the ruthless heel of Islam, the Oriental Churches have continued to confess the name of Christ, but their condition of arrested development is not inaptly typified by the mummied hand of Gregory the Illuminator, still used by the Armenians in the consecration of their chief bishop. They hold to the cross, but they do not uphold it. Bedouin tribes have wandered for twelve centuries round the Greek convent of Mount Sinai, probably without one single instance of conversion to the creed of men whom they regard with almost religious veneration. And for 1,500 years the Malabar Church—the only indigenous church in the Indian peninsula—has lived on as a separate caste without exercising any religious influence on its heathen neighbours. “For twelve hundred years we have known too much of Christians to be attracted to Christianity,” says the Moslem in contempt, as he keeps the peace among the Christians of different communions at the Holy Sepulchre.

As for the youngest and most important part

of Oriental Christendom, the Greek Church in Russia, Mr. N. Orloff,¹ lecturing in London as a representative of it, not only admitted but vindicated its non-missionary character, adducing, as the single motive for evangelistic effort, one which we have ceased to put in the forefront. "We have neither the right nor the desire," he says, "to relegate to damnation all those who do not belong to the Church. We are certain only that without Christ, and without love to Him, no one can be saved; . . . but He may be worshipped without being known under that Name. . . . This explains the partly deserved taunts of the almost utter absence of proselytism." In fact, the Russian Church seems to be where our own Church was little more than one hundred years ago; but it should be added that, although the State forbids missions to Russia's Moslem subjects, it has quite recently undertaken missions in the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, and also in China and Japan, reckoning up nearly thirty thousand Christians in the last country now, mainly through the devoted labour, during more than forty years, of Bishop Nicolai.

Numerically the Roman Church stands first in Christendom, and is represented in every part of the world. But in view of the fact that many opponents of Christianity insist, like Mr. Grant Allen, in regarding it as "Christianity in its central, true, and main form," we may note various indications of the fact that its numerical superiority may not be

¹ *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 410.

maintained. As Bishop Montgomery remarks, the Time-spirit is against the Latin Church among every race except the Latin. Also of the seven world-empires the only one nominally in Roman Catholic hands has a government more hostile and tyrannical to the Roman Church than any Protestant power has ever been.

One striking outcome of the missionary awakening of a hundred years ago was a revival of Roman missionary enterprise. Following the Protestant lead, "L'Association pour la Propagation de la Foi" was founded at Lyons in 1822. For France, as the Roman Catholic Power having the amplest territories beyond the seas, now takes the foremost place in missionary work formerly taken by Spain and Portugal; and China succeeds India as the chief scene of Roman activity. There, on the impartial testimony of an experienced Presbyterian missionary, Roman missionaries are doing good and solid educational work, and they are also doing much in Japan. In India they proselytise among the converts of other missions, rear many orphans and abandoned infants, and devote themselves, with an energy and success that Protestants would do well to emulate, to the education of Eurasian and European children, of whom a very large number are now in their schools. But in South India, on the testimony of Bishop Caldwell of the S.P.G., "the native Roman Catholics, in intellect, habit, and morals, do not differ from the heathen in the smallest degree."

In the South Seas, and elsewhere, they give them-

selves heroically to the lepers, most of whom become Christians. For the deadliest climates of the African coasts they have no lack of brave volunteers, both priests and nuns ; and they are said to have won a good many Moslems in Abyssinia lately. The late Cardinal Lavigerie organised African missions on a large scale. Concerning these, words may be quoted which Prof. Thomas Lindsay addressed to a gathering of Highland Presbyterians, on return from a lengthened tour of inspection of missions in Africa. "Don't suppose I do not wish well to Roman Catholic missions. Any one who has seen heathenism is compelled to recognise that the most debased type of Christianity is something far higher than the highest type of heathenism."

One echoes Prof. Warneck's regret that, in the absence of precise statistics of Roman results, only rough estimates can be given. In China, where about three-fourths of the missionaries are French, there are about 800 European and 300 Chinese priests and about 750,000 converts ; and about the same number in Indo-China. Rather more than 1,000,000 converts are reckoned in India, where there are 800 European priests—French, Italian, German and English—and 700 Indian priests ; in Africa likewise about 1,000,000 converts ; in Oceania probably less than 100,000 ; in Japan 54,000. Probably there are at least 4,000,000 Roman converts from heathenism, at the end of 370 years of wide-spread effort ; but we have yet to see anywhere a native Roman church vigorous

enough to survive the withdrawal of its European teachers.

Turning to Reformed Christendom, we reckon up the Lutheran Church as most conspicuous among Continental Churches for its missions ; the Churches of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway also following of late years the noble lead of the little Moravian Church ; the Church of England, with its sister Churches in Scotland and Ireland, and its daughter Churches (named in order of their age) in the United States, Canada, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, West Africa, Liberia, Uganda, China, and Japan, forming a Pan-Anglican Communion almost as widely diffused as the Roman Church ; the Pan-Presbyterian Communion claiming to be the largest body of Protestant Christians, reckoning 20,000,000 members and twenty-six fully organised Churches, in Scotland, Ireland, England, the Netherlands, France, and beyond the seas ; the Methodists, the largest secession from the Church of England, questioning the claim, saying they have 30,000,000 adherents,¹ including the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church of America, whose scrutiny of new members does not, however, err on the side of severity ; the Congregationalists, the oldest body of English Nonconformists, likewise vigorously represented in Greater Britain and the United States ; and lastly the Baptists.

The list of societies given on p. 149 indicates that all these communions take their share in missions ; for, though many individual Christians

¹ *New History of Methodism.*

still need converting to missions, no body of Christians that holds the great fundamentals of the faith is without its own missionary agency to-day.

The missionary societies of the Friends, the "Brethren," and the United Methodists; with two more interdenominational societies, the North Africa Mission and the South Africa General Mission, all founded since 1858, must be added.

The following years have been memorable in the missionary history of the last half-century.

1872, when the Church of England appointed an annual Day of Intercession for Missions.

1874-5, when a spiritual revival comparable in its issues to that of 1858 followed on the mission of D. L. Moody, and led to a new outburst of missionary zeal.

1885, when "the Cambridge Seven" went to China with the C.I.M., and Bishop Hannington was martyred, on his way into Uganda; both incidents that called the attention of the general public to missions in a quite unprecedented way.

1886, when the Student Volunteer Missionary Union began in the United States, firing young hearts and brains with its watchword, "The evangelisation of the world in this generation." Organised in England in 1892, it has now developed into the World's Student Christian Federation, numbering 140,000 members in nearly forty lands. It represents international and interdenominational effort in its very best form, banding together the most earnest of the men and women at college, who, a few years hence, will be making the history of the world.

In 1886 also, the C.M.S. held its first February Simultaneous Meetings, enlarging the horizon of the public by heading its bills throughout the land, not with "The Church Missionary Society," but with "The Claims of the Heathen and Moham-medan World"; and Dr. Eugene Stock started the C.M.S. Gleaners' Union for Prayer and Work, which has been copied in the Watchers' Band of the L.M.S., etc.

1887, when Queen Victoria's Jubilee made the Empire conscious of itself and of its responsibilities as it had not been hitherto; when the Canterbury Board of Missions was formed to broaden the home basis of Anglican missions; when well-qualified women, produced by the Higher Education movement of a few years earlier, began to take a large, fully recognised share in missionary enterprise.

Statistical results now may be briefly summarised, contrasting p. 110. Apart from Roman missions, there are now about 5,600 mission stations in the world, nearly 16,000 missionaries (the larger number British and American), and nearly 500 missionary societies. The Bible has been translated, wholly or in part, into 418 languages.

There are about a million non-Roman native Christians in India, and the number increases annually by some 63,000. One society alone reports an average of 30 *adult* baptisms every day. There are likewise a million in Africa; a million in China¹;

¹ The Rev. J. Campbell Gibson, Chairman of the Shanghai Conference, gave this startling figure at a Mansion House meeting on March 16th, 1909.

70,000 in Japan ; at least 300,000 in the South Seas : over four million Christians in all ; non-Roman converts probably outnumbering, after 110 years, Roman converts after 370 years. This does not reckon over twelve million negroes in the United States and the West Indies, most of them professing Christians. It is reckoned good progress for a mission to double its converts in twenty years ; but in India converts have increased tenfold in fifty years ; in China nearly fourteenfold in thirty years.

We have gone to history for a convincing answer to the question, Are Missions a Failure ? passing from the days of St. Paul, the first who understood that Christianity must become universal, to our own days, in which the realised solidarity of humanity makes the need of one religion felt as never before.

We saw, when the old-world notion of national worships was discredited, three missionary religions propagated with a fervour that carried all before it ; prospering and deteriorating in prosperity ; swept aside, cast out even from their original seats ; taking fresh root elsewhere, rising in new power under new conditions ; losing and winning and losing again ; while great tidal waves of belief ebbed and flowed from people to people. The story is summarised roughly by the curves of the diagram facing the title-page. But whereas Buddhism and Islam each had its vigorous initiative, its dazzling zenith, its slow, irretrievable decline, Christianity, dowered with the power of an endless life, has made continuous though not

uniform progress ; has waned only to wax ; renewing its youth from age to age, in spite of hostility without and imperfection within. Churches have proved mortal, and fallen, but the Church is immortal and invincible ; the one institution that lives on amid the wreck of empires, because against it the gates of Hades can never prevail.

It lived on in spite of the relentless hate of the strongest religious force in the world at the Christian era ; while the nation that hated it perished, the Gentile church grew stronger than the Hebrew church had ever been. It lived on in spite of fierce persecution from the strongest political force in the world at the Christian era ; while the Empire that persecuted it perished, it won and tamed the largest host of savages that ever descended on civilisation. It lived on in spite of the repeated onslaught of the strongest religious force, next to itself, in all the ages, armed with the sword of one of the most warlike peoples in the world, and attacking it when fallen on evil and degenerate days. The new Christendom of the West, stronger than Eastern Christendom had ever been, survived the intellectual upheaval of the Renaissance, and renewed its youth in the Reformation. It survived the spirit of lawlessness and militant infidelity that threatened reformed and unreformed Christendom alike at the French Revolution. For then the greatest period of aggressive Christianity began. The century of unexampled progress in education, material civilisation, scientific discovery, and in-

vention, of scattering of prejudice and superstition, was the century in which the Gospel proved its power to convince minds, win hearts, and transform lives among men of every clime and every race.

In its early days its power had been owned by cultured, artistic, versatile, sceptical Greeks ; by hard, practical, dignified, domineering Romans ; by emotional, romantic Celts ; by warlike, hardy, and simple Norsemen ; by strenuous, ambitious Teutons ; by "all men everywhere." But how small a part of what that phrase means to us did it mean to the Apostles ! No previous generation could assert, with the confidence with which we can assert, that the Gospel touches all, from the most degraded to the most advanced ; from the Patagonian in his unredeemed savagery to the Oriental whose civilisation is twice as old as our own. It converts the slow, stolid Eskimo ; the sunken Hottentot ; the degraded, hunted Bushman ; the despoiled, vindictive American Indian ; the impressionable, patient negro ; the gentle, subtle Hindu, haughty Brahman and hard-working Dravidian alike ; the capable, practical Chinese ; the volatile, eager Japanese ; the staid, fanatical Moslem. For at the secret heart of all it has a potent ally in deep spiritual need ; deepest when least articulate, since it is those that desire God least who need Him most.

It may be true that the heathen are not consciously anxious for the Gospel ; how could they be, when they have no conception of it ? But they recognise it as all their salvation and all their desire when

it is presented to them. "I am full of joy," said a poor Chinese widow, whose sons were all far away. "I have such a Saviour, and He is always with me."

"Well, Apolo, what is the difference between these and the old days?" said Bishop Tucker to one of his catechists in Uganda. "Oh, it is the joy. I had no joy in life then, but now it is all joy."

These are facts of to-day, which must be brought into relation with other facts, past and present, if we would appreciate their significance. A fragment of bone which the peasant digs up only to throw away may rouse the osteologist to enthusiasm. So, taken by themselves, unvarnished incidents from that quiet routine of missionary daily endeavour, which has little enough of excitement and romance, seem tame and uninteresting to the ill-informed and thoughtless; who demand thrilling occurrences and large rhetorical statement, like the wealthy Christian philanthropist who said, "I give only to success." But we can form no sound judgment as to success until we look at missions as a whole, and in relation to the whole course of the world, ignoring the fallacious old distinction between "sacred" and "profane" history. When we thoughtfully attempt to understand the present in the light of the past which has made it what it is, we rise above the notion that current missionary information is a mere tangle of fatiguing statistics lightened by more or less irrelevant anecdote.

If a man's religious belief is the most important fact about him, the religious history of the world

must be the very soul of history. "Does it not cast a greater glory upon daily life and history to have seen in Isaiah this close connexion between spiritual conviction and political event? Does it not teach us that life is governed by faith; that the truths we profess are the things that make history; that we carry the future in our hearts; that not an event happens, but is to be used by us as meaning the effect of some law of God?"¹

We must wait till contemporary history is likewise written by prophets to see clearly the import of its events in the light of "the mighty hopes that make us men"; but already we become dimly aware that missionary effort is at the heart not only of church history, churches rising or falling as they use or lose their opportunities of evangelising, but at the heart of secular history also, for through it all there runs, like a golden thread, the endeavour to set up Christ's kingdom on earth. The oft-noted coincidence between great religious epochs and times of political and social disintegration and transition, is no accident; interpreting (in Bossuet's fine phrase) "the concatenation of human affairs as the sequence of the counsels of God," the Falls of Nineveh, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople are seen to be crises, mainly because of their religious issues. Again and again, devout Christians have believed the end of the world to be imminent, and awaited the final catastrophe, trusting in God but despairing of mankind. Again and again, upheaval and sweeping changes have proved, not an

¹ G. A. Smith, *Isaiah*, Pt. I. p. 374.

end but a beginning, the birth-throes of a better age ; gazing on the ruin of empires, we can—

“ See throughout that dreary maze
God teaching love and fear,”

as He builds a new world out of the ruins of the old one.

Once more, we discover who were the greatest makers of history. Not the conquerors such as Rameses, Shalmaneser, or Genghis Khan ; but the thinkers, the teachers, the prophets. Of the five men who have moulded the minds and lives of the largest number of their fellow-men—Moses, Confucius, Buddha, St. Paul, and Mohammed, the last, the only one who used carnal weapons, was the only one whose greatness was recognised by his contemporaries. Future historians will certainly commemorate, as foremost among the makers of recent history, missionaries whose names have hardly appeared in the newspapers. For all over the world Christianity is bound up with—

“ Progress, man’s distinctive mark alone.”

Heathen lands produced some good *men*—Socrates, Epictetus, with Kabir, Chaitanya, and other Indian saints less familiar to us—but heathenism never raised *man*. There was civilisation in the world before Christ came, but it never proved strong enough to resist attack from without, or decadence within ; thirty centuries of the Vedanta philosophy did less for the uplift—

social, moral, and intellectual—of India, than one century of Christian influence, direct and indirect, has done. The story of human progress is the story of the one perfect religion, as yet imperfectly apprehended and often grievously misrepresented, yet ever working on for “the glory of the Creator and the relief of man’s estate.”¹

Lastly, this intelligent study of missions has a personal import for us all. Queen Victoria’s wise husband used to say to young men: “Find out God’s plan in your generation, and then beware lest you cross it; fall promptly into your own place in that plan.” Before we turn, however, from *Ecclesiæ Acta* to *Ecclesiæ Agenda*, to consider our individual share in the work that lies before the Church, the tremendous question “Who is Christ?” is inevitably raised by our survey of the work that lies behind the Church and of the very different histories of the three missionary religions.

Buddha and Mohammed never claimed to be more than men. In this world, only their memories lived when they were dead and buried. And, if the story of Buddha proved to be a pure fabrication, the value of Buddhism as a creed—its philosophical ideas, its moral precepts—would be in no way affected. In fact, Buddhism is strongest to-day where it has least connexion with the person and teaching of the historic Buddha. Some Moslems, recognising lately that their prophet’s biography is painfully connected with many of the worst features of his system, have actually attacked the question

¹ Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning*.

of getting rid of his name, and having Islam without Mohammed.¹

But Christ is Christianity ; its influence is His influence, and must always be ; and even those who say concerning Him, " We will not that this Man reign over us," cannot date a letter without acknowledging that His coming into the world was the central event in its history, and that He dominates it to-day. " The action of Christ, who is risen, on mankind, whom He redeemed, fails not, but increases from age to age," said Lord Acton in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Modern History at Cambridge ; and the oft-quoted remark of the great Napoleon, in his exile, that millions of men are ready to die for Christ to-day is far truer now than when he made it. If, indeed, the power of personality is the greatest that can be conceived, if history is made by heroes, then ; in the transcendent Personality of Christ we see its supreme force ; to Him, as the second Adam, the Man from Heaven, universal dominion has been given. And ours is the wonderful privilege of living in an age when His words, " I, IF I BE LIFTED UP FROM THE EARTH, WILL DRAW ALL MEN UNTO MYSELF," are being fulfilled as they have never been fulfilled hitherto.

A Persian lady, not openly a Christian, murmurs His sacred Name as she emerges from unconsciousness after a severe operation. A dying Muganda whispers, in answer to the question, " Do you know who Jesus Christ is ? " " He is a strong Bridge over which I pass through the gates."

¹ Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, *Pan-Anglican Paper* (1908).

One of the students in St. Stephen's College, Delhi, tells its Principal that nine-tenths of his fellow-students are Christians at heart. "I fully believe that Christ has come into India, and has taken possession of India's heart," wrote Keshab Chander Sen, who was not altogether a Christian. An organ of the Brahmo Samáj, whose leader he once was, lately said: "We Brahmos of the New Dispensation believe that there can be no regeneration without Christ, who is the Door of the kingdom of heaven, and that if any man comes not through that Door, he has no place in it." A New Testament dropped overboard by a midshipman from the first British ship that entered Japanese waters came into the hands of a nobleman, Murata, the Kami of Wakasa; in 1866, eight years afterwards, he said to Guido Verbeck, the first Christian he had ever met: "I cannot tell you my feelings when, for the first time, I read the account of the character and work of Jesus Christ. I had never seen or heard or imagined such a person. I was filled with admiration, overwhelmed with emotion, and taken captive by the record of His nature and life." Murata died, leaving four generations of his own household and family Christian. Yet one more testimony from a fifth important mission field. Working under Pastor Hsi of Shansi, North China, was Li, a simple, homely evangelist, yet of great faith and spiritual power; and, under all circumstances, his chief inspiration was "Jesus lives. He rose from the dead. Therefore nothing is impossible."

For Christ is not a dead man, but the Living Son of God. This is the answer that we are compelled to give to our question. Many are ready to say to-day, with Nicodemus, "We know that Thou art a Teacher come from God"; but the Christianity that does not go on to St. Thomas's full confession, "My Lord and my God," can never be permanent or aggressive.¹ "There is no powerful Church which is heretical on the fundamental doctrines of the Faith,"² and only the Church that is Catholic in doctrine can become Catholic in extension throughout the world; moreover, if it is Catholic in doctrine, it must logically be missionary; the Gospel of the grace of God is bound up with the Catholic faith that Christ is God and Man.

"If Christ is the Son of God, missions cannot be a *mistake*." That was the conclusion Part I. brought us to. We now reach this conclusion: "If missions are not a *failure*, but fruitful beyond all human expectation, Christ must be the Son of God."

"The true Gospel proclaims its truth by its universality. . . . The fruit which the Gospel bears without fail in all soils and under every climate is its credential, its verification, as against the pretensions of spurious counterfeits."³

PART I. endeavours to show that a Christian who says "Missions are a mistake" must plead guilty to inexcusable thoughtlessness. The work of evan-

¹ The utter futility of the only Unitarian mission on record, that in Tokio, is a noteworthy illustration of this.

² Bishop of Salisbury, *The One Religion*, p. 303.

³ Bishop Lightfoot on Colossians i. 6.

gelising the world OUGHT to be done is the inevitable conclusion.

PART II. endeavours to show that any one who says " Missions are a failure " must plead guilty to criminal ignorance. It CAN be done is the inevitable conclusion.

Looking back on the greatest missionary century the world has seen so far, and standing on the threshold of a century of missions that promises to be still greater, it only remains for us to resolve, as a Church, as a nation, and as individuals, that it SHALL be done.

PART III

THE CRISIS OF MISSIONS (*ECCLESIAE AGENDA*)

“Remember, Messieurs, opportunities do not recur.”
—NAPOLEON TO HIS GENERALS.

CHAPTER I

THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE AIM

“Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and His glory shall be seen upon thee. And nations shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.”—ISAIAH.

ANCIENT history records the strife of city against city; modern history the strife of nation against nation. They are separated by an era during which a single imposing rule swept heterogeneous peoples into one vast organisation. We speak of it as “the fulness of the time,” for then came the first crisis in the history of mankind—the birth of the Saviour of the world. All past history had been the preparation for this; all subsequent history was to be the gradual appropriation of its results.¹

We cannot contemplate the unified world of to-day without perceiving that it is once more the fulness of the time; that we may deliberately use, in its whole meaning, the word Crisis, vexed though it be by the half-educated with

¹ Bishop Westcott.

almost as much hard and unsuitable work as those other Greek words, "martyr" and "tragedy." For stirring events, bound to have far-reaching issues, are following each other with bewildering rapidity. We can hardly see the forest for the trees; and long to behold, from the eminence of A.D. 2000, the results of the forces lately set loose. Can we doubt that, a hundred years hence, the Expansion of Christendom, of which we already have the hope and the earnest, will cause both heaven and earth to rejoice?

Amid the greatest awakening of nations ever known, amid an unexampled growth of national self-consciousness in many lands, we are thrilled with the two thoughts of Change and Opportunity. The field is indeed the whole world. Heathenism is so ripe that it will spoil unless gathered quickly; and the width of the opportunity is the measure of our responsibility. If we fail to rise to it, not one of all the generations of non-missionary Christians who are guilty before God will be so deeply dyed in guilt as our own. The past century, after all, has only been a time of experiments in adjusting methods to an ever-enlarging view of the scope of operations, a mere reconnaissance in force prior to the decisive onset; what has been done is trifling compared with what remains to be done. So we dare not think of Retrenchment and Retreat, for Reinforcement and Advance were never called for more. Consider how recent is anything that can be called systematic attempt to obey Christ's last command. We can

bridge the whole story with four missionary lives. In 1830 William Carey, of Serampore, had an interview with Alexander Duff, just landed in Calcutta. In 1876 Duff wrote to Alexander Mackay, urging him to use his engineering skill in the mission field. In 1890 Mackay was uttering his last prayer for Uganda on his death-bed, and at that very hour the C.M.S. was receiving an offer of service from the Rev. A. R. Tucker. The careers of these four—two Englishmen, two Scots; two for Asia, two for Africa; Baptist, Presbyterian, and Anglican—cover the whole duration of world-wide missionary enterprise. A bishop who will, we trust, do more than half his work for Africa in the twentieth century, is directly linked with the “father of modern Missions” by two other lives only.

The opportunity is great, and it is passing.

“A day may sink or save a realm.”

Mr. John Mott lately said that more will depend on what is done during the next ten years than on what is done for generations after; and Dr. Campbell Gibson, Chairman of the Shanghai Conference of 1907, quotes the words, adding, “I believe them to be absolutely true.”

What is the missionary trying to do? is a question which we have yet to answer explicitly, which we must answer before we can determine how he is to do it.

We have traced out the Conflict of Creeds, and watched one religious system supplanting another; we have dealt with the Expansion of *Christendom*,

that is literally with "the spreading abroad of the rule of Christians" in human society. According to Webster's definition, Christendom is "that portion of the world in which Christianity prevails, or which is governed under Christian institutions, in distinction from heathen or Mohammedan lands."

This progress of the Gospel in outward extent is pictured in our Lord's thrice-recorded parable concerning the man who sowed in the field a small seed, growing, in the sight of all men, into a great tree. It has its counterpart in another twice-recorded parable touching the woman who, inside the house, hid leaven in three measures of meal: showing the progress of the Gospel in inward influence; that coming of the kingdom which is not with observation; which is concerned, not with Christendom, but with *Christianity*.

"And Christianity, in the established Christian sense, is the presentation to us, not of abstract dogmas for acceptance, but of a living and Divine Person, to whom we are to be united by a vital incorporation. It is the re-union to God of a nature severed from God by sin; and the process is one, not of teaching lessons but of imparting a new life, with its ordained equipment of gifts and powers."¹

"Ah, General," Cecil Rhodes is said to have observed to the founder of the Salvation Army, "you are right; you have the best of me, after all. I am trying to make new countries; you are making new men." The distinguishing feature of our Faith and the secret of its power is that it establishes not

¹ Gladstone's Criticism on *Robert Elsmere*.

merely the rule of Christians in human society but the rule of Christ in the individual heart. "The Hindu's attainment to knowledge of God is an experience very similar to Christian conversion," said a cultured Hindu judge, who had come to the Bible Society depôt at Allahabad to find some books of good moral tone for his boys, to the Rev. W. E. S. Holland. But when he replied that his limited knowledge of Hinduism had not supplied any instances of lives transformed through it, as he had seen them transformed in several cases of conversion to Christ, this thoughtful Hindu frankly admitted that he was ashamed to have to confess that, with a far wider knowledge of Hinduism, he had not come upon a single case of real heart-illumination.

Historians, though they recognise in the converted man whose life is consecrated to God (even if they do not describe him in those terms) the mightiest moral power in the world, must deal with the extensive rather than the intensive force of the Gospel, with the expansion of Christendom rather than the ever-deepening influence of Christianity. And some are inclined impatiently to disparage all their statistics, to aver that, unless a man is a Christian in deed and in truth, he may as well be a Hindu. They take little account of the imperial conception of Christianity which the Eastern Church developed, which has Russia for its exemplar to-day: "It is your duty, as a subject, to conform to the State Church"; or of the ecclesiastical conception of Christianity which the Latin Church developed: "It is your duty, as the baptized child of Christian parents,

to be an obedient member of the Church." Such conformity of men in the mass, they say, was an evil tradition which the Church inherited from the pagan conception of religion as a national and political institution. In wholesome reaction from it, the Reformation taught that a man's religion is a matter between God and his own conscience, that outward membership of the Church matters little in comparison with personal experimental faith. This historical reference must not be exaggerated. Roman Xavier aimed at more than conformity; for his biographer thus accounts for the winning of one of his converts: "He knew so well how to speak to him of God, and still more how to speak of him to God." And in Ceylon the Protestant Dutch made as disastrous an experiment in wholesale conversion as we know of when they refused public office, or even permission to till the soil, to unbaptized persons, and provided only fourteen clergy to minister to 300,000 professing Christians.

It is profoundly true that regeneration of individual hearts and lives through divine power is the missionary's supreme aim, and that there is no essential difference between the transformation of a nominal Christian at home into a real Christian and the conversion of a heathen abroad into a disciple of Christ. Speakers of various schools of thought brought out this point in a very instructive way at one of the most valuable discussions of the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. When, however, we say that the missionary goes to pluck individual souls as brands out of the fire, we have

not completely answered the question, What is he trying to do?

Holy Scripture regards the Church as a corporate body whose members have relations and duties to each other as well as to God: a man's religion concerns his fellow-men deeply. The first Christians won are all probably convinced converts, called on to give up much for the Faith, though faulty, as many of St. Paul's converts were: they grow into a Church mostly of Christians of the second or third generation, the proportion of nominal to real Christians steadily increasing; and if Christianity becomes suddenly popular there is a large influx of unsubdued heathenism into the Church. Such increase of nominal Christians is an accompaniment, not of failure, but of success. It is certainly better for a man to become a nominal Christian than to remain a heathen; for even external profession uplifts character and life; his children will grow up in a Christian atmosphere, conscience will be gradually created, and a higher standard recognised even where it is not lived up to. A visible church, containing nominal as well as real Christians, is a good as well as an inevitable thing; for, as it grows, the community becomes imbued with Christian ideas; from age to age a sanctification of nations, slow and to the end imperfect, is discernible.¹ The hope of nations lies in building up vigorous national churches, and the Christianising of the community must be the missionary's ultimate aim.

This view, strongly put by Anglican Dean

¹ Dean Church's *Lectures on the Gifts of Civilisation*.

Church and Lutheran Prof. Warneck, may be further corroborated from two Presbyterian authors.

Dr. Thomas Smith, Duff's colleague in India, said: "Having lived long both in Christian and heathen lands, I recognise the unspeakable blessings of the suppression of heathen rites and usages; of the creation of national conscience; of the formation of public opinion in favour of what is pure and holy; of the elevation of the moral standard by formal recognition of the pure law of the Gospel. But it must work inwardly before it can effectively work outwardly."¹

In his Duff Lectures of 1884-6 Dr. W. Fleming Stevenson said: "Winning India does not merely mean converting individuals in India, but winning for Christ the busy life of a vast people, its policy, literature, and commerce, and all the springs of its national being, so as to change everywhere heathendom into Christendom."

The Moravians, coming after men who had taken the teaching of the Parable of the Mustard Seed exclusively, went forth imbued with the idea that they were "to win some souls to the Lamb," and, looking wholly to the teaching of the Parable of the Leaven, were persuaded that their call was not to work anywhere for national conversions. Consequent narrowing of aim marred the effectiveness of their devoted work. We, with a wealth of experience behind us which they had not, are without excuse if we fail to take the Parables of the Mustard Seed and of the Leaven together; we are

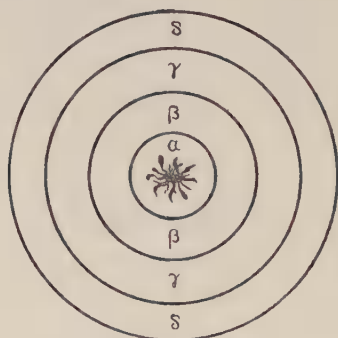
¹ *Mediæval Missions.*

to aim at expanding Christendom as well as at adding to the number of the true Christians on whose increase its satisfactory expansion always depends.

But some of the most ardent advocates of Missions to-day say that, when our Lord prophesied of the End coming when the Gospel has been preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations (Matt. xxiv. 14), He meant that world-wide evangelisation would result in nothing more than calling out from each nation a limited number of individuals as a people for His Name (Acts xv. 14), while to the rest of mankind the Gospel would be preached as a testimony against them. These "Christian pessimists" (as Dr. J. P. Jones terms them), believing that Christ's Return is contingent on world-wide effort, not on world-wide success, are for diffusing the message as far and as quickly as possible; they feel little interest in the growth of churches or in the indirect influences of Christianity in sanctifying nations. Christian optimists, however, believe that "making disciples of all the nations" must have a much larger fulfilment; that the message will be accepted not by few, but by many; that the conversion of individuals must pass into the building up of Christian communities, into permeating nations with a Christian spirit; that we must therefore not only scatter but concentrate wisely on strategic points.

For since the Day of Pentecost, when a little handful of true Christians confronted a wholly non-Christian world, two other classes have come

into existence—a growing body of professing Christians, and a growing number of heathen touched by Christianity but not won to it. The present condition of Missions, not in time and space but in quality of spiritual influence, may be illustrated by a diagram.



a = actual Christians.

β = nominal Christians.

γ = potential Christians.

δ = non-Christians.

A light is the centre of four different zones :
 (a) The intense brightness immediately round it represents those who are “led into the way of truth,” being united to Christ by personal faith, actual Christians ; (β) the duller illumination near it represents those who “profess and call themselves Christians,” whose religion is a matter of tradition and imitation, rather than of personal experience, nominal Christians ; (γ) the twilight at some distance from the centre represents those who make no Christian profession, though their lives

are touched by Christian influences, potential Christians, we might call them; (δ) the outer darkness which the light does not penetrate represents the unreached world of non-Christians. By God alone, unto whom all hearts are open, is every human being seen distinctly in his own zone. The dividing lines are hard to discern, and in each zone there are those nearer to and farther from the centre. In (α) we pass from the whole-hearted Christian to the timid and wavering, though true believer; in (β) from those who are earnestly religious up to their light, though they can hardly say, "I know Him whom I have believed," to those whose hearts and lives in spite of some religious observances are given to the world. In (γ) we pass from those who are intellectually convinced of the truth of Christianity, though they shrink from confessing that conviction, to those who are utterly opposed to it, though influenced by it.

We trace a continuous and simultaneous expansion of each of the four zones since the Day of Pentecost. But never have they expanded so rapidly and evidently as they expand to-day. Never has Christ been served by so many true Christians; never has the visible Church made its cords so long and its stakes so strong as it does to-day; never have the indirect influences of Christianity been so potent and beneficent; and never has heathendom been so vast in numbers.

Home missions are trying to extend (α) into (β); "foreign" missions aim at extending (α), (β), and (γ) together till (δ) disappears. "Christian pessi-

mists "concentrate their attention on (α); the secular historian on (β). In so far as it is the inevitable outcome and gauge of (α), the growth of (β) is matter for rejoicing; but (β) is strong when (α) is large in proportion to it, and when (α) shrivels, as it did in the worst ages of the Church, (β) itself becomes the great hindrance to the diminution of (δ). While the increase of (α) is the primary aim of the missionary, the increase of (β) and (γ) is an evidence, not of the failure, but of the success of his work.

All the four zones are continually acting and reacting on each other: (α) acts directly on both (β) and (δ); (δ) re-acts on (β). Some, especially in the South Seas, pass straight from (δ) to (α); some, especially in India, pass from (δ) to (γ), from (γ) to (β), and so at last to (α), like a man of whom Dr. Henry Martyn Clark tells. After baptism he apostatised, saying he had found Christianity only a puddle, not a well; then he repented and returned, saying, "I came to Christianity before; now I have come to Christ."

The remaining Chapters of Part III. proceed gradually from the circumference to the centre, considering the Crisis of Missions as it affects: First, (δ) the non-Christian field; noting how extraordinarily its bounds have changed, since prayer for the doors to be opened gave place to prayer for men to go in at the open doors; how much of heathendom has become Christian; how many heathen have invaded Christendom. Here the three new continents and Africa mainly concern us. Secondly, (γ) the field

indirectly influenced; where former hostility and apathy have in many places changed into eager, friendly welcome, and modern conditions are inevitably disintegrating ancient creeds. Here Asia mainly concerns us. Thirdly, (β) the field nominally won; where adversaries, without and within, have to be reckoned up, and problems of strategy considered. Fourthly, (α) the field actually won; and the loud call of the Crisis to all who are Christians in the highest sense of that term. Finally, we summarise the outlook for the Church and the world.

CHAPTER II

THE CHANGED PAGAN FIELD

“Thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes.”—MATT. xi. 25.

As Britain, once a field to be evangelised, has become a recruiting-ground for evangelists, so lands and races that were not long ago objects of the Church's effort are now becoming her partners in it.

From 1703 the S.P.G. reckoned what is now the United States and the Province of Canada as one of its most important fields; and from 1822 the C.M.S. gave much of its effort to what is now the Province of Rupert's Land. To-day, owing to the labours of Bishop Whipple, William Duncan of Alaska, Sheldon Jackson, and Riggs of Dakota, quite half the Red-men in the States are Christians. Out of 107,000 Indians scattered over Canada, only about 7,000 are still heathen, and these are all in touch with some mission. Bishop Horden, who died in 1893 after forty-two years of labour, “witnessed the almost entire expulsion of heathenism from his huge diocese;”¹ and Bishop Lofthouse now reports that its Indians are all Christians; that 95 per cent. of them can read; that they

¹ C.M.S. Committee Minute.

will go twenty-five miles to church in a bitter wind; that mothers will carry babies 150 miles for baptism. Only a few hundred heathen are left in Saskatchewan; in Ontario the Indians, formerly threatened with extinction, increase steadily in prosperity and intelligence, and the birth-rate at last begins to exceed the death-rate. The Canadian Indians are mostly Roman or Anglican Christians, but Mr. Egerton Young's fascinating stories show that the Wesleyans, too, have had their share in winning them. The last heathen Greenlander was won in 1801, result of Moravian and Danish labours, and, though still rude and childish, the people of that ironically named snow-waste no longer "call us to deliver their land from error's chain."

The highest Australasian race, the Maoris of New Zealand, are almost all professing Christians, eighty of them have received Anglican orders, and the Bishop of Auckland tells us that the native clergy not infrequently minister in things spiritual to the white settler. Their vote, lay or clerical, in the synod is exactly equal to that of the white man; some of them sit in the Legislature, and one is a member of the Government. Christianity has, in fact, solved the New Zealand race-problem entirely.

Passing to the lowest Australasian race, the Australians—once regarded as doomed to extinction and quite incapable of receiving any religious ideas, even declared by one scientist to be not far removed from apes—are vindicating the Bishop of Carpentaria's gentler description of them as "younger brethren in

the family of Christ.” The Rev. F. H. Campion, of the “Bush Brotherhood,” tells of one who walked twenty-eight miles on Saturday to teach in a Sunday school. Bishop Hale relates how one black woman taught her white husband to read; and the story of the Moravian missionaries Ward and Hey of Mapoon, and their brave wives, shows the aborigines capable of becoming not only agriculturists and carpenters, but preachers and teachers.¹

Outside Africa we find the least touched savage heathendom in the South Sea Islands nearest to Australia. Recently published lives of pioneers in New Guinea, James Chalmers and W. G. Lawes of the L.M.S., Anglican Albert Maclaren, and Wesleyan George Brown, tell of hopeful beginnings there, and of happiest co-operation among representatives of different communions with each other and with the authorities.

As we go eastwards from Australia we find whole communities of Christians, whose present condition is a striking contrast to what Charles Darwin called their “unparalleled profligacy” eighty years ago. His tribute to the reality of the change has often been quoted. Sir Arthur Gordon (Lord Stanmore), late Governor of Fiji, describes its population of 120,000 as a Christian people, of whom over five-sixths have been won by the Wesleyans. Seven out of eight of its criminals to-day are immigrant Hindus. In 1861 Lawes found not one outward vestige of heathenism remaining in Savage Island.

For all these scattered Pagans, children among the

¹ Canon Dawson, *Heroines of Missionary Adventure*.

nations who receive the message gladly and humbly, the alternative is evangelisation or extermination, and we can see the Gospel arresting their extinction. When Bishop Patteson laid down his life for Melanesia in 1871, he left 400 Christians there. His present successor, Bishop Wilson, reports 13,000 Christians besides 20,000 scholars. The 20,000 regular worshippers reported in both New Britain and New Guinea by Dr. Brown at the close of forty-eight years' work are a less notable feature of his *Autobiography* than the fact that their evangelisation was in large measure accomplished by catechists from Fiji and Samoa, who, amid every sort of peril and discouragement, braved these ferocious cannibals with unflinching heroism, and also did splendid service towards giving them vernacular Bibles. The Malua Institution founded by the L.M.S. in 1844 at Samoa has sent out to the surrounding islands many evangelists. James Chalmers had a letter from one of these asking if he might spend his old age preaching to a tribe who had murdered his missionary son. John G. Paton completely evangelised Aniwa, with the help of teachers from Aneityum; and Tanna, whence he was driven out in 1858, has since been evangelised by his son, Dr. Frank Paton, with the help of Aniwan catechists. "We cannot escape the Worship; we must take it in the end," said one, recognising reluctantly that Christianity would prevail. The delightful biography of Lomai of Lenakel shows what manner of Christians they are.

But when we turn to the massed Paganism of

Africa, with its vigorous, prolific, and enduring races, we find widely different conditions. Africa, which is thrice the size of Europe, must always be the Dark Continent, as the land of black men ; but it is no longer dark in the sense of being unexplored ; and now that European control secures law and liberty over most of its area, it need no longer remain dark, in the sense of being unevangelised. Since the days when Sir H. M. Stanley travelled 7,000 miles without seeing a Christian or a man who had ever heard the Gospel, more new missions have been sent to it than to any other part of the world ; and Krapf's splendid vision of an " Apostle Street " of mission stations traversing it from north to south and also from east to west has been well-nigh realised, for a rude cross of mission stations is already described on it. The three fine cathedrals at Mengo and Blantyre and Likoma have all been reared by native labour, the first being paid for wholly by natives also. The Uganda Church is evangelising its heathen neighbours on all sides.

The West African Church has not the same virility, for it has been gathered from a mixed population rescued from slavery and still bearing traces of the slave's degradation ; Freetown contains representatives of a hundred tribes. It is, nevertheless, self-governing and also self-extending, having evangelised the Niger Delta under the leadership of Bishop Crowther. For it is the Africans themselves who must complete the work begun by the Europeans.

In South Africa, where results are not so large, the vigorous Free Church missions at Blythwood and Lovedale have been much blessed, and the Industrial Mission founded by Dr. Stewart at Lovedale is famous. Canon Winter (Kaffraria Mission of the Scottish Episcopal Church) says it is difficult to believe that the squalid Kaffirs flocking round the traders' stalls and the Kaffirs reverently lifting up their songs of praise in the cathedral at Umtata can be of the same race.

At least as urgent as work in the South Seas is work in Africa, for the alternative before its Pagans is evangelisation or conversion to Mohammedanism. The real fight there is with the organised aggressiveness of Islam, and, as Alexander Mackay expresses it in his homely way, "When Islam has put its vile name on the heathen, though ever so superficially, there is no doing anything with them." The Moslem fosters two domestic institutions very dear to the African—Polygamy and domestic Slavery; and for forty generations he has been domiciled in Africa, where the European must always be a foreigner. In the Sudan the Crescent forestalling the Cross has been unhappily illustrated, and, had not the C.M.S. taken up Stanley's challenge, it would have been illustrated in Uganda also. Instead of this, its present population of three-fourths of a million includes only 40,000 Moslems,¹ and we rejoice over the prey snatched from the mighty in a fair fight.

For the Pagans of India, the alternative is evangelisation or absorption into Hinduism. Seven out

¹ C. W. Hattersley, *The Baganda at Home*.

of fifteen million Pagans reckoned up a few years ago have already become Hindus. But no Christian missions in India have been more fruitful than those to Pagan Bhîls, Konds, Kois, and Santals.

For the Pagans of Burma, the fourth prevailing religion competes with Christianity. The alternative for them is evangelisation or absorption into Buddhism and Islam in a very few years. British rule, by ending the feuds between Buddhist Burmans and pagan Karens, has brought thousands of Karens under Buddhist influence for the first time; and the Moslem population increased 33 per cent. in the past decade. On the other hand, some of the Christian Karens have begun to preach to their former masters who are Buddhist. Britain is the one European Power concerned with Burma. To our shame be it said therefore that, while over two hundred foreign Roman Catholic missionaries are working hard there and the American Baptists have nearly two hundred missionaries in their long-established mission, the only British missionaries in Burma Proper are some thirty Anglicans.

Present-day ebb and flow of peoples has created new mission-fields in Christendom, and the largest illustration of this has also become the finest illustration in history of Joseph's words "Ye meant evil against me, but God meant it for good, to save much people alive." The negroes, whose deportation once produced demoralising effects in three continents, and whose descendants now number over 9,000,000 in the United States and nearly 4,000,000 in the West Indies, Central America,

and Guiana, furnish the most numerous body of Pagans won in the last century; for at least half these 13,000,000 are definitely attached to some church or religious organisation. Cynics may say that their Christian attainment is not very high. It would be more reasonable to dwell on their steady advance from savagery, aggravated by slavery, to self-respect and civilisation. Fifty years ago, over 90 per cent. of them were illiterate; now only 30 per cent. are; in fact the Bishop of Rhode Island says the American negroes are already not so low in point of illiteracy as the masses in Russia and Spain, and in 1909 President Taft paid this generous tribute to them: "The progress which the negro has made in the last fifty years . . . is marvellous, and furnishes every reason to hope that in the next twenty-five years a still greater improvement may come." In the West Indies, where they now form 83 per cent. of the population, and have been free since 1834—nearly thirty years longer than in the United States—their advance all along the line is still more striking. They have been treated like men, and have risen to the kindly opinion held of them. The Archbishop of the West Indies, after forty years' close acquaintance with the negro problem, claims that it has been solved, that race prejudice is vanishing, and that "each of these black Britishers is loyal to the core."¹ The Jamaican negro, unquestionably the superior of the American negro, has a peculiarly interesting mission to his compatriots through the "West Indian Church Society for

¹ *Church and Empire*, pp. 200, 206.

the Furtherance of the Gospel in West Africa," started by Principal Rawle in 1851, whose missionaries since 1865 have all been coloured men and women. The C.M.S. in West Africa has also been indebted to Jamaica for coloured missionaries.

The million Hindu emigrants already described, forgetting their own tongue for English "of a sort," loosed from old restraints of family and village life and the caste code with which all their moral ideas were formerly bound up, knowing nothing of the religion of their fathers, and often exposed to some of the worst products of Western civilisation, are open to the Gospel as they could not have been in India, and are deeply in need of it. In Jamaica, Presbyterian negroes are evangelising these immigrants; in South Africa the S.P.G. has gathered three congregations of them; in Mauritius both S.P.G. and C.M.S. have long worked for them; in British Guiana the Bishop writes that, though as yet visible results are small, there is a good deal to encourage; but Canon Josa says that Islam has already won a fifth of the Hindus there, and that presently they will all be either Christians or Moslems.

Lastly, there are the Chinese emigrants, of whom a thousand on the east coast of North America have lately become Christians.

We turn, finally, to by far the most important non-Christian community in Christendom, which is about as numerous as the negro population of America, but removed from it as widely as possible in character, history, and circumstances—the scattered people of Israel. Far more Jews have become

Christians than is commonly supposed, for as individuals they melt into Christian congregations and their origin is not recognised. For instance, an Anglican clergyman visiting Jerusalem announced that he had never seen a convert from Judaism in the whole of his life; yet he was talking to one at that moment, and had been worshipping that morning in a well-filled church, where nearly all present, from the officiating minister downwards, were converts. Bishop Schereschewsky, translator of the whole Bible into Wenli and of the Old Testament into Mandarin for the Chinese, is not the only Christian Jew who has become a missionary to heathendom since "the preaching of the blessed Apostle St. Paul caused the light of the Gospel to shine throughout the world."

Not a little most important sowing must therefore be done at once on prepared soil; and much of it can be done by Christians who never leave Christendom, and who speak no language but their own.

The present condition of the Pagan peoples whom our godly forefathers yearned over, and our worldly forefathers scorned, wonderfully exemplifies the Master's words as to the despised classes that entered the kingdom of God before those who esteemed themselves wise and righteous. "In the next century," said Sir W. Wilson Hunter, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for July 1888, "the darker races will constitute a very large proportion of the professing Protestants in the world." Are they of little account because they seem to be only rude,

primitive peoples ? We cannot say so, remembering that of one of them at any rate, the Baganda, their Bishop says, after nearly twenty years' work among them, that they are already at about the level of civilisation that the English were at in the days of the Norman kings.

CHAPTER III

THE CHANGING EAST

“Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and are gone away, and what have I more? and how then say ye unto me, What aileth thee?”—THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

“’Tis your torch
Makes the place dark; the darkness let alone
Grows tolerable twilight.”

ROBERT BROWNING.

“I ALWAYS support missions to the South Seas in preference to any other, because I get more souls for my money. In my opinion, the Church ought to leave Moslems alone, and only go to them if it has a large surplus.” So said a well-known, self-made business man on the platform. It is the case that the most arresting triumphs of the Cross have been won hitherto over Paganism; that is over “the sheer chaos of religion, faith, and morals”; and many are prepared to believe in, and even to rejoice over, such triumphs, who would include Islam and the great Ethnic religions of the East in the sentiment of this recent editorial remark in a widely read journal: “So far as religion is concerned, it is every man’s duty to choose and embrace what faith he likes. I prefer a man

with some religious belief to a man without any." For ourselves, they say, Christianity is the most suitable, and we may well use it in reclaiming utter barbarians; but the attempt to force it on other civilised peoples, having religions that proved suitable to them for centuries, savours of impertinence, and is foredoomed to failure. No new idea this, for it is almost a hundred years since Mr. Marsh, in the House of Commons, expressed "horror at the idea of sending Baptists and Anabaptists to Indians, at the hazard of disturbing or deforming institutions which appear to have been the means ordained by Providence of making them virtuous and happy."

Of course, we reply that if Christianity is true for us it must be true for the whole world; but, having said this, we may usefully call attention to the actual condition of mankind to-day, when the doors thrown open fifty years ago have been altogether taken off their hinges, and "the unchanging East" has suddenly become a phrase as obsolete as "foreign missions." In 1904 the repulse of the Russians by the Japanese at the Passage of the Yalu, followed by their brilliant victories at Liao-yang and Mukden, opened a new epoch, already in a measure anticipated when on March 1st, 1896, the Abyssinians totally defeated the Italians at Adowah. The East, passive under aggression from the West ever since the Greeks won Marathon, leapt up and showed that an Asiatic force could vanquish a modern European army. We are only now beginning to appreciate

the effect of this on the mind of India and of all Asia. In the eloquent words of the Bishop of Lahore : " We stand at one of the great turning-points of history ; at the greatest the world has ever known, as I myself believe. . . . The changeless East is changing. The old life is breaking up and passing away. Some new life, be it of what kind it may be, is coming to the birth. . . . For two generations or more we have been pouring in a flood of English, Christian, Western ideas, standards, learning, and hopes. Is it very surprising or unnatural that the inflow is beginning to produce some effect ? " ¹

These are results, not only of government by Christian Powers, or of diplomatic relations with Christian Powers, but of business relations, through rapidly developing commercial activity, and human relations of pity and sympathy also. In what Ezekiel called God's " four sore judgments of sword, famine, noisome beast, and pestilence," with flood and earthquake added, good-will and gratitude were awakened through such ministrations as unostentatiously given famine relief in 1877 in India and China, which proved a golden key to unlock hearts to the Gospel ; or warmly appreciated spiritual care of the wounded Japanese troops in the late war.

A Renaissance must ensue from these ancient Oriental peoples becoming our near neighbours to-day, and learning from us art and science, industry and engineering, law and medicine, military and naval and educational methods. Shall it be

¹ At the Manchester Church Congress, October 1908.

a Renaissance without a Reformation; because we withhold the spiritual truth which underlies and gives its highest value to our Western civilisation ?

“ Jew, Greek, Barbarian, Scythian,” is St. Paul’s enumeration of the world’s peoples. His only “ barbarian ” converts were apparently the Galatians, and throughout the First Period of Missions the Gospel reached “ Jews and Greeks ” mainly. But in the Second Period its hearers were mainly “ Barbarians and Scythians,” nearly all Christendom being in his sense “ Barbarian ” to-day. In this Third, crowning Period all four classes are dealt with together, not only literally but representatively, the fanatically Monotheist Moslem standing for the Jew, the cultured, clever Oriental for the Greek, and for the barbarian the simple-hearted Pagan, receiving the Gospel with awe and welcome, as the others receive it with indifference and contempt, or scorn and hatred. All alike have emerged irrevocably from the conditions of the past, and their future spiritual destinies are in the hands of the white Christian. In the words of an experienced observer : “ Missionary work began by detaching men, one by one, from the old systems ; now we are running great seams of disintegration through the old institutions and organisations—we are beginning to feel the gathered momentum of the past.”

India, the rudder of Asia, the greatest trust ever committed to a Christian nation—a continent rather than a country—probably contains twice as many people as Africa, and ten times as many as South America, and includes races as different from

each other in colour, physiognomy, attire, pursuits, character, culture, and religion, as are the Turks from the Irish or the Norwegians from the Spaniards.

One century under British rule has changed it more than three preceding millenniums; and the new India, seething in unrest, permeated with new ideas and aspirations, contains a million English-speaking natives, instructed, not educated, by Government schools and by five Universities examining in English; given an absolute freedom in the present for which their national past has not prepared them, converted from Hinduism but not converted to Christ. The elastic receptivity of their ancient religion makes it far more vulnerable than Islam or even Buddhism, and at the same time less susceptible of a mortal wound. The old supercilious attitude of the Hindu who said to Dr. R. N. Cust, "I could at pleasure become a Christian, but nothing could ever give you a high-caste position as a Hindu," gives place to the vague eclecticism, shown in the schoolboy's question, "Why can I not be saved by Krishna as well as by Christ?" or in this request of a college man, "Tell me the history of all religions, that I may decide which I will choose."

Seventy years ago Alexander Duff, the founder of educational missions in India, speaking before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, uttered a prophecy which is being fulfilled to the letter to-day: "If you do give the people [of India] knowledge without religion, rest assured that

it will be the greatest blunder, politically speaking, that ever was committed. Having free, unrestricted access to the whole range of our English literature and science, they will despise and reject their own absurd systems of learning. Once drifted out of their own systems, they will inevitably become infidels in religion. And, shaken out of the mechanical routine of their own religious observances, without moral principle to balance their thoughts or guide their movements, they will as certainly become discontented, restless agitators, ambitious of power and official distinctions, and possessed of the most disloyal sentiments towards that Government which, in their eyes, has usurped all the authority that rightfully belongs to themselves."

"And have they improved as much morally?" Mr. Robert Wilder asked a Brahman of Western India, who had been dilating on the intellectual advance of the last sixteen years. He could only reply, "That is our problem. Our students have lost faith in their old religion; they have lost respect for their parents and teachers; they are drifting on the sea of agnosticism." For educated India, the alternative is evangelisation or a newly devised syncretic religion, which can have neither power nor permanence. Wrought of shreds and patches torn from many creeds, cloudy, uninspired and uninspiring, such a religion bears the same relation to a living religion that a bouquet of cut flowers bears to a growing plant. There is much in the condition of India to-day to remind us of the movement of combined new Platonism and revived

Paganism, which began in the second century, retarding yet ultimately preparing for the spread of Christianity; moulding heathen faiths into a semblance of Monotheism, and leaving men (as Hadrian cynically observed) equally ready to worship Serapis or Christ.¹

Meanwhile, the indirect influences of Christianity, symbolised by the birds lodging under the shadow (Mark iv. 32) rather than in the branches (Luke xiii. 19) of the Mustard Tree, grow and deepen. We are assured that the Bible is the most widely read book in India to-day; for instance, a recent article by a Sikh expounding Sikhism, in the *Punjab Civil and Military Gazette*, contains at least a dozen Biblical phrases; and there are many Lives of Christ written by Hindus. One enlightened Maharaja reads Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* every day, and earnestly promotes education of women on European lines in his dominions; another has abolished by law the dedication of young girls to infamous service in the temples. The Brahmans themselves have prohibited the gross songs formerly sung without any sense of shame at religious festivals. Here, in South India, is a man preparing for Government service, who says he finds more food for his soul in pure Theism than in Christianity. He starts a prayer-meeting among his fellow-students, has family prayers twice a day, and preaches publicly against idolatry and caste and immorality, suffering

¹ Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius*, Bk. III. ch. iii.; Morrison's *New Ideas in India*.

ridicule and persecution in the cause of righteousness. We hear such questions as this propounded, "Why do the Hindus accept Christ and reject Christianity?" and the nationalist movement, spreading fast among a people who had formerly no word in their diverse tongues for "nation," is on the whole anti-Christian; yet the missionaries are saying that they believe it is from God and will in the end lead to God.¹ "Christ's is the name most hated and feared, most known and fought against, most loved and worshipped and longed for in India to-day," says Dr. H. M. Clark.

Christ is, indeed, the one Hope of India to-day; and the one remedy for its unrest is the upgrowth of a native Church, too strongly national to be merely identified with the foreign conqueror. Statistics show that our Faith is advancing in India about ten times as quickly as it has advanced in the world generally during the last fifteen hundred years; that there are already four native Protestant Christians for each European or Eurasian Christian; the largest number being in Madras and the smallest in the Central Provinces. But such statistics are a very inadequate measure of its growing power.

"Long before the Empire became Christian the air, so to speak, was filled with Christian ideas; the Christian creed was discussed and re-discussed by those who had not yet heard it; and while stray conversions took place in all ranks of life, most of the people remained apparently attached to the old Paganism. In the middle of the third century

¹ Mr. A. G. Fraser at the Pan-Anglican Congress.

not more than one-twentieth part of the population was Christian; in the next conversions came with a rush. The ground had now been prepared, the seed at last had taken root and sprung up." That is not written in anticipation of the future church history of India; it is Canon Liddon's description of the Roman Empire sixteen hundred years ago. But every word of the former part applies to India to-day; and Dr. Murray Mitchell, quoting it, uttered a conviction based on his own wide and long Indian experience that we shall ere long see the latter part fulfilled, that we shall witness a tremendous mass movement in India, when the gregarious tendency which makes it as hard now to draw one man away from Hinduism as it is to detach a particle from the flinty rock, will act in the opposite way. "No, I am not a Christian," said a rajah of Central India to Dr. Pentecost; "I shall never be a Christian. I am a Hindu; but my grandchildren and all our grandchildren here in India will be Christians, and we want them taught now. Tell your people, when they send missionaries to India, to send their best men, because India will be a Christian country within half a century."¹

Our best men are, indeed, needed, but it will not be they who will accomplish the work. Canon Ball's statement that already 90 per cent. of those baptized are won by native workers is most encouraging; and an earnest of what may be expected from the operations of the Indian

¹ G. Currie Martin, *Foreign Missions*, p. 62.

National Missionary Society founded in 1905, and of one or two other similar recent organisations. Nearly forty years ago, for instance, a rising man in the Calcutta High Court was converted by Dr. Duff. As the Rev. Mathura Nath Bose, B.A., B.L., he founded in 1874 the Bengal Evangelistic Mission, and died in 1901 leaving a Christian community of three hundred souls. The work is now carried on by his sons, the Rev. S. B. Bose and the Rev. N. J. Bose, and by his daughter, Miss Kamala Bose, B.A., Gold Medallist in Philosophy of Calcutta University.

“What one is, why should not thousands be?”

Half the population of the world is to be found in India and China; and China probably contains twice as many people as Africa and South America put together. The fact that the two greatest Asiatic countries are contrasted with each other at almost every point ought to check our uninstructed tendency to rash generalisation about “Orientals.”

India has been the prey of a long succession of invaders, seizing her lands and subjugating her peoples: China, geographically isolated, like Israel, between the great Sea and the great Desert, has for thirty-five centuries held her own proudly, though latterly under a foreign dynasty, and enjoyed a continuous, uninterrupted evolution of her national life. India is a congeries of heterogeneous peoples, speaking 117 languages, which tend to give place to a half-foreign Urdu and a wholly foreign English; while her classics have

for twenty-two centuries been in a dead tongue : China has a homogeneous people, with only one written language, the still living tongue of her classics, which every foreigner who comes to her must learn and use. Indians have the least, and Chinese the most, historic sense of any people. Indians are the least, and Chinese the most, practical of peoples. For the Indian, all depends on birth ; caste fixes his lot once for all : for the Chinese, all depends on attainment ; he can rise from humblest to highest by passing examinations. The Indian asks for guidance and yields ready obedience : the Chinaman has a genius for organisation and self-government.

The Indians are mystical, contemplative, speculative, subordinating the material to the spiritual ; they “are wealthy in religious feeling, but famished as regards true religion” :¹ the Chinese, with their unemotional common sense, are “worldly” men in the most straightforward sense of the term, showing a respect for religion for the sake of appearances, but inclined to smile at enthusiastic conviction, and to relegate beliefs as to the Unseen to women-folk. Consequently, in India there is unbounded veneration for “holy men” of unholy character : in China easy, contemptuous tolerance for the whole genus of priests. India has the least ethical of religions ; its religious books contain so much that is foul and degrading that, in Government examinations, it is almost impossible to set unoffending portions of sufficient length :

¹ Prof. Sorabji.

China's indigenous religion is wholly a system of ethics; missionaries can put her classics, and her charming and quite unobjectionable fairy tales, freely into the hands of their young pupils: their religious literature is cold and rather tame in sentiment, but pure in tone.

In contrast to many Europeans, both peoples are notable for their infinite patience, untiring industry, filial piety, power of enduring pain and poverty, sedate contentment, intense conservatism, and mechanical and artistic skill. The toiling agriculturists form the backbone of both countries; but it is the class which in India has been least, and in China has been most, touched by Christian teaching.

Inscrutable and uninteresting as the Chinaman appears on the surface to us, he is undoubtedly, of all non-Christian peoples, the ablest intellectually, the best educated, the most teachable, and also the most truthful, trustworthy, and steadfast; and, in spite of curious contradictions of character which make him a brave coward and a polite boor, he is withal, to those few Europeans who know him well, an entirely kind and lovable person, though less brilliant and engaging than the Japanese. This sane, strong race, with their solid common sense and distrust of enthusiasm, their commercial capacity, and respect for long-established ordinances and organisations and constitutional methods, are in some ways so like ourselves that we ought to be peculiarly responsive to their present appeal.

For no old order has been so antique and enduring as theirs—a state of things largely traceable

to their having unconsciously observed the Fifth Commandment more scrupulously than many who have had the Decalogue before them—and no old order has been so suddenly and utterly changed. It is Sir Robert Hart who says emphatically, after living fifty-three years in China, that they can never go back to their old conditions; that “the fear of their well-wishers is that Western science will simply supply strength without principle, and bring in materialism without higher teaching, higher aims, higher guidance.”

“You are all too anxious to awaken us,” said Wen Hsiang, the celebrated Prime Minister of China in the early sixties, “and to start us on a new road; and you will do it; but you will all regret it, for, once awaking and started, we shall go fast and far—farther than you think, much farther than you want.”

They have not only sanctioned but urged Western education in all their schools; they have published a Chinese *Manual of Wireless Telegraphy*; they are putting translations of such authors as Walter Scott, Charles Kingsley, R. L. Stevenson, etc., into their young students' hands; the number studying English is rapidly increasing; their prominent public men have become hearty advocates of educating girls as well as boys, and have adopted and carried on with vigour the Anti-Foot-binding Crusade, started by Mrs. Archibald Little. The alternative before them is evangelisation or pure Secularism.

Some have pronounced the Chinese the least religious of people, devoid of spirituality as a

nation ; but experience has shown that, though their powers of religious feeling have not been wasted on unworthy objects, they can be roused to a true and earnest faith and devotion ; while they care little for abstract theology and could hardly understand Christendom dividing asunder on the *Filioque* question. The best answer to those who once dared to doubt the existence of a genuine Chinese Christian has been the thousands of martyrs who, for Christ's sake, have loved not their lives even unto death in the last few years. 2,500,000 Gospels were sold in China in 1905 ; in 1908 the Bible Society distributed 1,365,000 Scriptures in China, 99 per cent. of which were sold. Many of their most thoughtful men, reading these, are reverting from popular Buddhism and Taoism and Confucian Agnosticism to their own ancient worship of Shang-ti, which was almost Monotheistic ; and so the soil is prepared for Christian teaching. " If we fail in our part now," says Dr. J. Campbell Gibson, " the glowing metal that seems all but ready for the touch of the Divine Artist will fall cold and hard again, and the Church may have to wait through decades, if not centuries, of shame and remorse, for the return of the opportunity of to-day."

The Celebration in 1907 of the Centenary of Protestant Missions in China may have given some an exaggerated idea of their duration, for after Robert Morrison landed, more than half a century passed away, leaving China a land closed to the Gospel.

In 1842 there were but six Chinese communicants

in all China ; now there are over 200,000 ; and the third Shanghai Conference in 1907 reckoned up a Christian community over thirteen times as large as the community reckoned up by the first Shanghai Conference of 1877. Probably the strongest and most fully organised church in China to-day is that in Fuh-Kien (contrast p. 148). Two of the C.M.S. missionaries now working there, Archdeacon Moule and Archdeacon Wolfe, went out in 1861 to find only four converts as yet baptized, so a single career measures the whole life of that Church, which has now over 550 native workers in it, ordained and unordained. The late Bishop Hoare reported that he had confirmed annually over a thousand candidates, most of them adult converts, and almost all brought out of heathenism by the instrumentality of Chinese Christians.

Current talk about a possible "Yellow Peril" will die down as we learn that this stable, unwarlike people, won for Christ, would be the finest possible guarantee for the peace of the world.

But as Mr. Clement Allen, late Consul at Shanghai, warned us recently, the wonderful changes which have led to recognition of the missionaries as China's best friends do not mean that all difficulties are over, but that all sorts of new problems are arising to claim the best thought and most strenuous effort of Christendom.

"Japan leads the Orient—Whither?" was the message cabled a few years ago by Japanese to American Christian students. Japan has advanced far on the road which China has only just

turned into. Shinto, their indigenous religion, which has no moral law, and takes account of no people in the world besides the Japanese, proves quite inadequate to their new international relations, and has become (so the authorities formally declare) a mere cult of patriotism, of no religious significance. As for Buddhism, the Minister of Education said last year: "No one who knows what Buddhism is to-day can do other than grieve over its forlorn state. Its revival seems next to impossible. And yet there never was a time when we needed religion more than we do to-day."

About ten years since that eminent Japanese statesman the late Prince Ito uttered a very different opinion: "I consider religion to be something quite superfluous in the life of a nation. . . . I cannot regret the almost universal inclination in Japan to free-thinking and atheism, because I do not look on it as a danger to society." Those were the days when European secularists pointed to Japan as a shining example of a nation that did without religion; when in a religious census taken by Mr. Mott of 409 students in three colleges, one described himself as Shinto, one as Confucianist, fifteen as Buddhist, four as Christian, 60 as Atheist, and 282 as Agnostic, the rest being unclassified. The first unreasoning craze for everything foreign had given place, especially after their intoxicating success in the war with Russia, to a prejudice equally unreasoning against Christianity as a foreign cult, and to an ardent belief in purely secular education.

But now the Minister of Education already quoted, in view of the recent enormous increase of crime and immorality among the student class, declares that "Religion is needed to furnish us with higher ideals than are to be found in the business and political worlds. If Buddhism does not furnish these ideals, then Christianity may do so. I would rather see Christianity doing what it can towards supplying higher standards of life than see the nation left without any religion at all." And the Buddhist Head of the Bureau of General School Affairs writes thus, in one of the leading Japanese papers: "I do not hesitate to say that we must rely upon religion for our highest welfare. And when I look about me to see upon what religion we may best rely, I am convinced that the religion of Christianity is the one most full of strength and promise for the nation."

The "Great Britain of Asia" is probably the best-manned of all mission fields. "Japan is within measurable distance of being declared a Christian country by Act of Parliament," said the Rev. W. R. Gray, Principal of the Momoyama Boys' School, Osaka, in 1903, and then he added fervently, "God forbid that such a thing should happen"—a sentiment as fervently echoed by other missionaries of long experience. Why did he reckon it probable and at the same time undesirable? Because Japan, the most highly civilised of non-Christian lands, realising that Christianity is the one religion which is not necessarily subverted by growing civilisation and progress, affords a unique

example of a non-Christian Government openly patronising Christianity. An important official, after observing the conduct of the Christian soldiers in the war, wrote : " I am not a believer. . . but I think it would be a good thing for the army if all became Christians." When the Y.M.C.A. held its Annual Conference in Paris, the only delegates there whose expenses were paid by their sovereign were the two Japanese delegates, this being a graceful recognition of the great services rendered by the Y.M.C.A. to the troops in the war. Fourteen per cent. of the members of Parliament in 1908 were Christians, together with such prominent men as Viscount Aoki, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Viscount Okabe, present Minister of Justice, and ten members of the Imperial Diet ; while the greatest gain has been among the commercial classes. The fact that some two years ago two Japanese ministers—an Anglican and a Congregationalist—were sent to preach Christianity in English to educated natives of India is full of suggestion as to what a Christian Japan may mean later on.

But the Gospel has been freely preached for one generation only ; as yet only three in a thousand of the whole population are Christian (less than 200,000 out of 46,000,000) and the Japanese, whose prominent characteristic always was open-mindedness, talk freely of transforming Christianity, as they have transformed Buddhism, to suit their national needs. Such influential preachers as Mr. Ebina, Mr. Yokoi, and Mr. Abe

echo our Lord's teaching without setting forth any fixed belief as to His Person. The alternative before them is not, as with their Chinese neighbours, "One God or no God," but rather Catholic or Arian Christianity. There is real peril that, if Japan were officially declared a Christian country, a numerically weak church might be suddenly inundated with a multitude of unconvinced and uninstructed persons, threatening purity of doctrine and righteousness of life alike. Our opportunity for indoctrinating them with "the faith once delivered to the saints" may be a short one. Within thirty years, we are told, there will be only native bishops and clergy in the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, the Anglican Church in Japan, founded in 1887 by the joint labours of C.M.S., S.P.G., and the American Episcopalians. (Cf. p. 73.)

We are disappointed when we read of Orientals rejecting both their own old creeds and Christianity, or trying to purify those creeds and blend them with Christianity; but, though it attracts some speculative minds, the condition of weighing all creeds and holding none, or of trying to reconcile antagonistic dogmas by omitting their characteristic differences, can be a permanent condition seldom for an individual, and never for a community. As in Europe 1,600 years ago, so in the East to-day, rapid multiplication of "potential Christians" marks a stage in the transition from a lower to a higher faith.

Undoubtedly, the four most important fields now are Africa, India, China, and Japan; and they

are in "tolerable twilight" no longer. Influences purely secular are "plucking up and breaking down and destroying and overthrowing"¹ in preparation for the "building and planting" that Christianity alone can do. Slavery has been the curse of Africa; Caste has been the mainstay of Hinduism; and the *jengshui* superstition has held China mentally and spiritually enthralled. Not one of these ancient things can survive the introduction of the railway, which lays its lines heedless of the prejudices of evil spirits, arranges its 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Class regardless of caste, and supersedes the caravans of porters. The elaborate Indian railway system is doing more than we can guess to modify the life of India. There are already over 4,000 miles of rail in Africa, and 3,700 miles in China. Again, recognition of the Christian day of rest prepares for recognition of the Christian Faith. Since March 1876 the Japanese Government close all their offices on Sunday; the Chinese Government have just made Sunday a holiday in all their schools. This must inevitably lead to abandonment of old national holidays and their attendant heathen festivals. In response to a memorial from the native church at Kalimpong in the Hindu state of Bhutan, market-day was changed from Sunday to Saturday.²

Both in attitude to Christianity and in the alternative before it, the Moslem world differs from all the fields hitherto considered. Islam wholly

¹ Jer. i. 10.

² Graham, *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands*.

subdued the territories of the Eastern Church, which barely survived, and has never attempted to overcome it. Islam invaded and threatened the territories of the Latin Church, which stirred Europe up to resist it in the Crusades, but has almost always shrunk from aggressive missions to Moslems. Islam left the territories of Reformed Christendom untouched; and, until modern days, Protestants have had little to do with it, and more than one mission to Moslem lands has eventually forsaken the hard task of winning Moslems for the easy task of proselytising from the Oriental Churches. Prof. Warneck says that the time for Moslem missions is not yet ripe, and would discourage them, except among Moslems under direct Christian rule. And the Moslem, entirely satisfied with himself and his religion, clad in self-complacency as an impenetrable coat of mail, convinced that he is one of the only people whom God deigns to favour, says to the Englishman who tries to disabuse him of his notions about the New Testament, "I tell you, sir, how the case stands. God has given you English a great many gifts. You make fine ships, and sharp penknives. But there is one thing that God has withheld from you and revealed to us: and that is the knowledge of the true religion, by which one may be saved."¹ His attitude was summed up in the telegram sent to the "Student Volunteers" assembled at Liverpool in 1900, by their fellow-members in Cairo, "ISLAM DEFIES YOUR KING," and he is sinking

¹ F. W. Newman, *Phases of Faith*, p. 32.

swiftly into the hopeless decadence that is for him the alternative to evangelisation.

But how can British Christians ignore the responsibility thrust on them by having, as their fellow-subjects, Moslems as many in number as the whole population of the old Roman world at its largest ; or the encouragement of the fact that in the only lands where Islam and tolerance co-exist, the work of such missionaries as Pfander, Robert Bruce, Douglas Thornton, Bishop French, and his successor, the present Bishop of Lahore, has been abundantly fruitful ? One community of 6,000 Christians in Bengal were all won from Islam ; of eighteen native clergy in the diocese of Lahore to-day eleven are of Mohammedan extraction ; and the most noted Punjabi clergyman, the late Rev. Imad-ud-din, D.D., of Amritsar, was able to include in the paper he was asked to write for the Chicago Parliament of Religions a list of 117 influential men that, to his personal knowledge, were converts to Christ from Islam.

CHAPTER IV

MANY ADVERSARIES

“ Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood.”—ST. PAUL.

THAT many recent happenings “ have fallen out unto the progress of the Gospel ” is a summons to more strenuous and wisely planned effort. For the “ many adversaries ” that St. Paul pictured as lying in wait are all about us to-day, and many other difficulties of which the Apostles knew little or nothing have to be overcome likewise. They were not warring against such strong religious systems, and through a Church weakened by a baffling proportion of inconsistent and merely nominal Christians. They did not know the worst climate in the world—that of West Africa ; or the climate in some parts of India “ three months hot and nine months hotter,” where all effort becomes a weariness instead of a delight ; or the barrier raised by unknown tongues of extraordinary difficulty ; or, going deeper than mere lack of vocabulary, the barrier of lack of intellectual reciprocity between peoples whose minds have developed for centuries along different lines, and who have no intellectual past in common, as St. Paul and both his Jewish and his Greek hearers

had. Mental sympathy is harder to obtain than emotional sympathy. "Has the missionary spoken correctly?" a Japanese was asked, who replied, "His language is correct enough, but his thoughts are all upside down."

"All she says is quite true," said the village women one to another, when Deaconess Ellen Goreh had told them of the Son of God. "We say 'Rama' and she says 'Isa' (Jesus)—both are the same."

The Hindu, to whom taking life is the greatest of crimes, cannot believe that men who kill animals, to satisfy their carnal appetites or even for mere amusement, can be the bearers of a spiritual message, especially when they also transgress long-established ceremonial laws of cleanliness in various ways. To the Chinese the missionary who devotes himself to the instruction of the lower classes and seems to find his level among them is a raw barbarian, as the Goth was to the polished, lordly Roman. Add to this, natural dislike and suspicion of foreigners and apprehension of their political designs. "Had your Christ been born in Benares we would have worshipped Him," Dr. Arthur Neve was told.

Atheism was a charge from which Tertullian had of old to clear Christians because they could give no satisfying reply to the demand, "Show us your God." So the Chinese said lately of some lady missionaries: "They are very good certainly, but they do not worship any god." And, just as denying that Jupiter was a god seemed equivalent to

denying that there is any God, to striking at the root of all that is deepest and highest in all religions, so lately a Japanese woman was heard to say, "I should like to worship your God. I have twenty gods already"; and when she was told that He must be worshipped alone, or not at all, she answered: "I fear I cannot worship Him, then, for I owe everything to the gods I already worship, and cannot give them up." Miss Katharine Tristram led this woman to Christ in the end, but many never get beyond her first perplexed stage. And heathenism dies hard always. Here is an Indian youth, son of a professor at a theological college, baptized in childhood, and taught nothing of Hinduism. He pours out to the missionary a torrent of difficulties, Hindu ideas pure and simple; for Christian instruction has not touched the bedrock of his Hindu mind.

Early Christians were accused of subverting family life and social order and patriotic duty, of being "idle and unprofitable in public affairs." So to-day Christianity seems to threaten in China family order, by inculcating unfilial conduct; in India, social order, by threatening caste, on which it is based; in Moslem lands, political order, since in Turkey, until 1910, only a Moslem could serve in the army. Very instructive is the story of Pastor Hsi's¹ gradual realisation, without any persuasion from the foreigner, that ancestor worship must be given up by a Christian. Caste is the rock on

¹ Mrs. Howard Taylor, *Pastor Hsi: one of China's Christians*.

which every spiritual movement in India has split. Buddhism and Islam could not demolish it; Roman and Lutheran missionaries tolerated it, to the ruin of their work. The story of Schwartz's mission in the eighteenth and of the earlier days of the Krishnagar mission in the nineteenth century alike vindicate the unswerving opposition to it of almost all missions now.

From these antagonisms, based on genuine though mistaken concern for the general welfare, we turn to less worthy ones; passing thus from those who reject the Gospel because they do not understand its claims, to those who reject because they understand them too well. There is the tyranny of *dastur*—"the religion that did for my fathers will do for me": the fear of menaced worldly interests which in old times arrayed against the Gospel Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen, all the flamens and augurs and sculptors and painters and temple architects; all who gained their living through the theatre and the circus and the colosseum; and nowadays all the Brahmans and bonzes and mullahs and idol-makers and medicine-men and a host of others depending on heathen rites for livelihood. And always there are "the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches and the lusts of other things," the preoccupation with things seen, as in China; the excitement of gain in the new commercialism and industrialism in Japan, and in a measure in Uganda; and actually sinful customs, like polygamy, which keep outside the Church in Africa not a few who hear the preacher gladly, even

as King Herod did. A religion that uncompromisingly proclaims as an irrefragable divine law that the wages of sin is death must always be a religion that many desire to refuse and to refute. Moreover, Balaam, successful in corrupting when he had been unsuccessful in cursing, has, alas ! many an indefatigable successor in the mission field to-day.

One noteworthy evidence of the activity of error and of recognition that the power of truth grows is frequent imitation of Christian teaching and methods. Hinduism vanquished Buddhism, absorbing Buddha by making him the ninth avatar of Vishnu. It is quite as ready now to identify Kalki, the tenth avatar of Vishnu, with Christ. It competes with missionaries in the educational field. The Gurukula of the Arya-Samāj at Hardwar, and the Hindu College at Benares, both intensely hostile to Christianity, teach the Vedas and advanced Hinduism together with Western science. Moreover, since mission schools have created a public opinion in favour of female education not to be gainsaid or ignored, Hindu and Moslem girls' schools "that will not interfere with their religion or traditional customs" are springing up rapidly, a fair field being granted to them by an impartial Government ; and two Hindu (Brahman) ladies have now taken the B.A. degree at Madras, women graduates hitherto having all been Christians or members of the Brahmo-Samāj.

"Not Krishna *or* Christ but Krishna *and* Christ," the Hindus say boldly ; and a professor at the Imperial University, Tokio, claims that faith in

Buddha is faith in Christ. Lives of Shaka (Buddha) modelled on the Gospels are circulated in Japan; New Testament phrases are freely used in Buddhist sermons; and Buddhist tracts that looked like Christian ones were circulated among the soldiers in hospital during the war. They are beginning to celebrate the birthday of "Our Lord Buddha," are forming a Buddhist "Bible Society," a Buddhist "Y.M.C.A.," Buddhist "Sunday Schools"; and are planning an International Conference of Buddhists for 1912, and a Buddhist university. In Ibadan, West Africa, New Testaments with the name of Mohammed substituted for that of Christ are being sold; and in Persia the mullahs, jealous of the wonderful influence of the C.M.S. Hospital, have opened a rival hospital near Ispahan, saying, "Only thus can we keep our religion alive and retain our hold on the people."

A further symptom of recrudescent heathenism, struggling desperately against its doom, is seen, as of old, in strange heresies: such as the Hau-Hau in New Zealand and the Taiping movement in China forty years ago; and later ones, like the movement under Chet Ram in India, 1864-1894.

When at last, after long, patient effort, success—promising greater success—has come, opposition is roused, ground already won is disputed; the worker is baffled and faith tried to the uttermost. Sometimes open hostility, which can be met and withstood, is less hard to bear than the deep indifference that neither comprehends nor desires to comprehend. "We neither hear nor understand

what you say. Give us an old pipe and some tobacco. That is all we want," said the Eskimos to the Moravians in 1848. "I would rather be with those who will either kill me or become Christians than with those who assent to everything and do nothing," said a Pathan doctor not long ago, refusing a good offer of professional work at home, and preparing to go, with his life in his hand, into bigoted Kaffiristan.

Last, and worst of all, the greatest hindrances to missions are those originating in Christendom. "It was not an enemy that reproached me, then I could have borne it." Wicked lives lived out there by white men, presumably "Christians"; wicked deeds done to the heathen; wicked lives lived here and reported in heathendom; wicked books, both immoral and infidel, written here, and circulated there—all these are present-day hindrances to Missions, of which little or nothing was known in primitive times.

"India is a great school, formed by one nation, and the teachers in it are the British residents," writes Bishop Knight, formerly of Rangoon; and not of India only is it true that every white man is a missionary of one kind or other. The man who frankly announces, "I leave my conscience at home when I go abroad," is responsible for the Moslem in the Peshawar bazar saying, "Ask us to give up our creed! We are more religious than the English; they only worship God once a week, and then they do not kneel down to worship Him"; or the Hindu saying that the most wonderful thing

he had seen in England was Christians who lived in accordance with their faith ; or poor Iounmene, of Tanna, confessing, " At first we did not want the missionary, because we thought he would be like the white man." " If you people of the West were only as good as your book, we would all speedily accept your religion," said a Japanese ; while an Indian declared that if all Christians were like Sir Donald Macleod there would be no Hindus or Mohammedans left. This is the other and happier side of the matter. The reports that come from Australia, the South Seas, Africa, and elsewhere of missionaries successfully circumventing the nefarious designs of white men of the worst type fully account for their hostility to Missions, and also (if we only knew it) for some of the " good stories " at the missionary's expense which are thoughtlessly repeated by persons of a very different type.

Definite hostility to missions from those in authority, common enough in the bad old days, is now rare ; though the L.M.S. missionaries know rather too much about it in Madagascar at this moment, where the greatest difficulties are put in the way of building new churches, while the revival of questionable heathen customs, dances, and songs is encouraged by the French government which (so Bishop King says) " is seeking to overthrow not this or that ecclesiastical system, but the name and power of Christ."

The slave-trade is already of the past ; the opium-trade in China, with all its train of evils for the Chinese people, and all the indirect results of the

“foreign smoke” (as they call it) in prejudicing them against the foreigner’s religion, will also, we may hope, be of the past ere long; but the traffic in alcoholic liquor of the vilest description in Africa and elsewhere still continues to the white man’s shame.

An Englishman once urged his whisky flask in vain upon a chief in Central Africa. When he discovered that the chief refused it because he was a Christian, he assured him that what the missionaries had taught him was a mere fabrication. Thereupon the chief wrote a letter to the next village, warning them, quite in the style of the New Testament, that “an enemy of the Lord was coming their way,” and exhorting them to pay no heed to his words, but, nevertheless, to pray for him. In this story from the heart of the Dark Continent, told by a missionary bishop, we see the Faith being assailed by the white man, and finding a dusky champion proof against his vice and his infidelity alike. Truly, the last shall be the first, and the first last.

Godless men who never go abroad hinder missions also. The heathen, when he reads reports in the vernacular press of crimes and scandals in English society and of vice and squalor in our town slums, asks the missionary why Christianity does not purify the lives of his own people?

Certain back premises in Calcutta bazars may be seen piled up with French novels of the most debasing type; and the Rationalist Press Association, founded in 1899 to disseminate sixpenny reprints of anti-Christian writings new and old,

reported for 1907 that, while home sales had decreased, in the colonies and India they had increased. From Bombay alone came an order for 6,300 publications. "I went out to Delhi," said the Rev. B. K. Cunningham, "expecting to be opposed by earnest, thoughtful Hindus, arguing for Hinduism. I found the average Hindu student neither thoughtful nor earnest, but an agnostic of the Western type, pouring out the ideas of Huxley, Rénan, and Bradlaugh." The daughter of an Indian Christian was lately discovered reading eagerly the works of "the Rev. Charles Voysey," supposing him to be a recognised exponent of Christianity. Moreover, as if there were not enough present-day writers to put darkness for light and bitter for sweet, an anti-Christian tract lately published by the Arya-Samāj reproduced an ancient and infamous caricature of Christian worship which was uncovered in the palace of the Cæsars in 1857. The Rev. Basil French, telling this, adds that he believes the real fight in India will be between Christianity and European infidelity. And yet there are those at home who fondly imagine that "these distant peoples can be left in undisturbed enjoyment of their ancestral faiths!"

Godly folks might profitably save their indignation against the wickedness of the world for the apathy of the Church which does so little to counteract these manifold activities of ungodliness. Also we do well to remember that hindrance to missions sometimes comes from godly people. In the second century Celsus based one of his argu-

ments against Christianity on the sectarian divisions of Christians. Our "unhappy divisions" are a very real hindrance to-day in two ways: at home, they divert to controversy energy which ought to be given to extending the Church abroad; they are in themselves a serious stumbling-block, bringing reproach on the Christian name, and leading to unwarrantable interference with the work of missionaries. What the late gentle and charitable Bishop Matthew, of Lahore, was constrained to call the "marauding policy" of Roman Catholic missions is the most notable example of this; but not the only one. Well-meaning representatives of two different denominations, born in the last century, with a deplorable lack of sanctified common sense and an equally deplorable ignorance of church history, have busied themselves in drawing off converts newly made by others, or parading as trophies of their own efforts in the field "inquirers" whom more experienced missionaries have declined to baptize.

In addition to such diverse continual hindrances to the spread of the Gospel, there have been occasional fierce persecutions, not less fierce than those in primitive times, and, like them, blessings in disguise, sifting and so strengthening the Church to rise to new life, and pouring out that martyrs' blood which has never failed to prove the Church's seed. Well known to all are the sad yet glorious stories of the martyrs of Madagascar (1838-61), of Uganda (1885-6), and of China (1900-1901).

In all the opposition thus rapidly summarised there is nothing astonishing, still less is there any

argument against the Faith; rather it proves that our Lord and His Apostles were true prophets. If opposition means failure, their own work was a failure; but it means, on the contrary, success; and therefore it is not discouraging, but encouraging. A hundred years ago a quiescent world was face to face with a dormant Church enjoying its own spiritual privileges here and singing hymns about "Canaan's happy shore" hereafter. To-day a waking Church confronts an active antagonism.

Between the first battle of Hormah and the second, forty years later, the children of Israel, keeping themselves to themselves in the safe seclusion of the wilderness, were little troubled by enemies; but entering Canaan involved fighting for their lives against many confederate adversaries. Our generation should interpret entrance into the Promised Land in a less sentimental and more Scriptural way than did our ancestors of a hundred years ago; and should grasp the significance of a remarkable expression used concerning the first encounter with their foes of Israel newly escaped from Egypt. At the battle of Rephidim, on the surface a mere skirmish between a caravan of frightened fugitives and a marauding band of Bedawin, the Church Militant here on earth measured its force, for the first time in history, against a hostile world; and Moses said, "There is a hand against the Throne of Jehovah."¹ St. Paul echoes the thought when he declares that we are wrestling against world-rulers of this darkness

¹ Exod. xvii. 16, R.V. marg.

and spiritual hosts of wickedness (Ephes. vi. 12), that we have a Divine Helper but also a super-human antagonist.

Recoiling from grotesque mediaeval demonology, we moderns have become reticent about the Evil One, though every daily paper, in its sad tale of tempted and fallen humanity, contains evidence of his existence. In heathendom men realise not only that he exists, but that he reigns; and he, it has been quaintly said, does *not* believe that Missions are a failure, for he inspires intense and growing hostility to them everywhere. Admiral Mahan asserts that the best evidence for the existence of a personal devil is the attitude of non-Christians towards Missions; and those who have followed, in Pastor Hsi's Life and elsewhere, recent well-authenticated narratives from China will hesitate to dismiss Biblical accounts of demon-possession as mere Oriental metaphor. "These are days when the Terrible seems almost visible," says a missionary in India, "as he gathers up his strength and tears and mauls his prey. We have to fight a separate fight for each soul."¹ "We go right in the devil's eye to-day. I think he have a sore head to-night," said Lomai, of Lenakel; and his countrymen's comment as they returned from obstructing some villainous scheme was that "Satan looked out of the eyes of the heathen." Children among the nations, these simple Christian Tannese had in their direct, childish way apprehended the meaning of "Satan hath asked to have you" and "The devil is gone down among you, having great

¹ Amy Wilson Carmichael, *Things as they Are*.

wrath, knowing that he hath but a short time.” The strong man fully armed is being challenged to-day as never before in all the realms where his throne is ; we must expect hostility to become more organised, more persistent, more virulent ; but we are on the side of the Stronger than the strong.

CHAPTER V

MISSIONARY STRATEGY AND MISSIONARY COMITY

“Such as were able to go out in the host, that could set the battle in array, with all manner of instruments of war.”—THE FIRST BOOK OF CHRONICLES.

“Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works.”—THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

“O LORD, send me to the darkest spot on earth,” was the noble prayer put up on the banks of the Lossie at Elgin by John Mackenzie, afterwards of South Africa. We have outgrown the idea that it does not much matter to whom the Gospel goes, provided it goes to heathen; “greatest need” however, is not sufficient guide, for in practice that means for each of us the need we happen to know most about, and too large a proportion of the too meagre resources of the Church is appropriated according to personal predilections for particular stations or missionaries. “No church, no society, will ever succeed in its missionary work, unless it ever whispers to itself, The world is our field,” says Bishop Montgomery. But while all souls are equally precious, all mission-fields cannot be equally important. Livingstone’s response to the L.M.S.

directors—"Anywhere, if it is only forward"—cannot be surpassed as the motto of a candidate for service; but the responsible organisers and supporters of missions must get beyond it.

Soldiers' battles will not lead to triumph in this warfare; it calls for generalship, for concentration on strategic points, and wise and deliberate choice of such points. We may learn many lessons of strategy, if we will, from the New Testament. Aiming ultimately at the whole world, the divinely guided Apostles began by aiming at definite small portions of it. The time and care they lavished on Ephesus is noteworthy, and the words "pagan" and "heathen," both originally meaning "rustic, not townsman," fossilise early concentration on the great cities and centres of population. So, taking India as the key of the East and the citadel of heathendom, history teaches that the masters of the Punjab have again and again dominated the whole peninsula; and we can rejoice over a succession of unusually able missionaries there.

Strategy also involves more than wise choice of place. Having chosen the point to attack, what is to be the mode of attack? Bishop Mylne, late of Bombay, and Canon Robinson, Editorial Secretary of the S.P.G., have drawn the following lesson from the three greatest missionaries in India before the nineteenth century. Spanish and Roman Xavier failed from over-diffusion; German and Lutheran Schwartz from over-concentration; and English Baptist Carey devised the right method, avoiding both extremes.

Again, the Bishop of Madras points out that the higher castes and townsfolk are only a small proportion of the population of India, and not much nearer Christianity than they were twenty-five years ago ; that the mass of the people live in half a million villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants, and are quite untouched intellectually by European culture. He therefore urges, as the main lesson of the last fifty years, that the next fifty years should be given to determined effort to gather in and elevate, socially intellectually and morally, the depressed classes, and to build up a strong Church out of them.

The Bishop of Lahore, however, arguing from experience in quite a different part of India, is convinced that the class who desire Western education are much nearer to the Faith than they were twenty-five years ago, and that as the nation's leaders and future evangelists must come from that class, our present effort should be to win, not the many low caste, but the few high caste Hindus, by means of educational missions. This view of the former leader of the Cambridge Delhi Mission is fully shared by the leaders of the Oxford Mission at Calcutta ; and it inspired the pioneer educational work of those great Scotsmen, Duff of Calcutta, Wilson of Bombay, and Anderson of Madras. The Kashmiri pundit is notoriously inferior to the Brahmans elsewhere in India, is too often dirty, lazy, superstitious, a cringing and cowardly sneak and liar. No one who has watched the successful endeavour of the Rev. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, in the Srinagar High School, to transform

him not merely into an athlete, but into an honourable Christian gentleman, clean in body and soul, could fail to become an enthusiast for educational missions. Prof. Sir W. Ramsay emphasises the fact that Christianity spread most rapidly in early days where men were awaking from the stagnation and inertness of an Oriental people, and were influenced by Greek letters.¹ Substituting "English" for "Greek," the description is strangely applicable to India, and indeed to Asia generally, to-day.

A third voice from India assures us that it is neither in the village, nor in the bazar, nor in the college classroom that the foe may be most effectually grappled with, but behind the purdah; and that the bigotry of the women is the greatest hindrance to the enlightenment of India to-day. In corroboration of this view, zenana missionaries, Biblewomen, and girls' schools aroused the strongest denunciations of an *Appeal to the Hindu Community* issued at Calcutta in 1890, which lamented that "the lifeblood of our society is fast ebbing away, and irreligion eating into its vitals."

Skirmishes in the open field may be won at the cost of leaving a strongly entrenched enemy on our flanks; settling down to prolonged siege operations may damp hope and effort when decisive victory might have been won; scattering native evangelists over a wide area may increase the Church rapidly, but at the expense of the solid strength it might have gained had the missionary

¹ *The Church in the Roman Empire*, ch. viii.

devoted himself wholly to the training of the few first gathered in, as our Lord, leaving the multitude, devoted Himself to the Twelve. Sometimes, however, mere "hothouse" Christians are manufactured by this process; when their spiritual life would best have been strengthened, even if they were young in the faith, by personal encounter with heathenism.

These illustrations suffice to indicate how complex the question of Strategy abroad is, and how closely linked with the question of Aim already considered. It claims the best powers of thought of the best and maturest minds, lest the missionary who is "busy here and there" doing good work miss an opportunity that may not recur of doing better work.

The question of Strategy at home involves critical consideration of the societies named on pp. 149-152.

Archbishop Benson, speaking at the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894, divided missionary effort into four eras—the Apostolic, when the Church herself was the great mission power; the Personal, when great saints, filled with the Spirit of God, went forth without commission from any particular Church; the Governmental era, when kings and conquerors gave the choice between baptism and the sword; and the era of societies, forming the Mission-Conscience of the Church, working within the Society whose special business it is to do this work for Christ, and composed of persons who recognise their responsibility as the whole Society does not yet do. The carefully reasoned and statesman-like con-

clusion he reached was that when Missions are a universally felt duty the societies might not be removed, but to a great extent their work would be changed. "Meantime," he said "we must work through the societies with all our might."

The society system is freely criticised, and, as we have seen, some Churches have already abandoned it, which does not, of course, demonstrate that Churches different in their antecedents and circumstances could or should do so. We cannot fail to perceive that the societies have warded off untold evil and accomplished untold good, and earned the gratitude of Christendom by their discharge of the twofold duty set before them of evangelising the world and educating the Church in missionary principles. But are they, like the religious orders which they succeeded, outliving their usefulness? Let us set the largest Roman order beside the largest Anglican society for a suggestive comparison.

In 1542 a few Spaniards of high degree, as we have related, formed the missionary order of the Society of Jesus. Promptly blest and adopted by the Pope, and going far and wide over Asia, Africa, and America, it was soon international, but became so unscrupulous in its methods abroad, and so menacing to the Church at home, that Pope Clement XIV. abolished it in 1773. Since revived, it reckoned up in 1899 nearly 4,000 missionaries in all the six continents.

In 1799 a few middle-class Englishmen formed "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the

East." They got no warmer benediction from the Archbishop of Canterbury than a promise to "look on their proceedings with candour,"¹ and waited sixteen years for any episcopal patronage. Recognised now by the whole bench of bishops as the loyal, indispensable handmaid of the Church, the C.M.S. reckons up nearly 1,400 missionaries in Asia, Africa, and Canada. We go on to consider the merits and demerits of the society system in detail.

The weakest point of the religious orders was that they set up a standard for the few which lowered the standard of Christian life for the many, and the unthinking multitude were apt to say, "I am not *un religieux*, therefore I need not be religious." So the existence of missionary societies appears to absolve those who do not happen to join them from taking a personal share in work which they are really pledged, by their Christian profession, to aid; or to limit that share to a coin in the offertory or an annual subscription. What should be the common task of all is delegated to a few, to the Church's own undoing, when, in these days of multiplied societies competing for the superfluous guineas of the public, belonging to such and such a society appears to be the cause rather than the effect of caring for Missions.

Ours is the age of societies, because, as Sir James Stephen remarks, it believes in the continually decreasing power of the individual and the constantly augmented power of associated minds. "The sense of separate weakness is the secret

¹ Stock, *History of the C.M.S.*, vol. i. p. 72.

of collective strength." The fact that societies tend to consist of mediocre people means that the complex problems of missionary strategy which lie before the twentieth century may not be solved by master minds, that the general policy of the societies will be timid, lacking vision.

Multiplied societies mean wasteful increase of working expenses. This would be a more serious consideration were it not for the large amount done "all for love and nothing for reward" in connexion with them. For the last sixty-nine years, for instance, not a penny of salary has been received by the Secretary of one of the two chief Anglican societies, hardest worked and most responsible of all its officials, four clergymen in succession having given their services freely. We also note that the lowest percentage of working expenses at home in connexion with missionary enterprise is reported by the United Free Church of Scotland, which is its own missionary society.

Lazy, thoughtless people say, "The societies are so many that I cannot give to all," and end by bestowing a contemptible dole on one, as an inconsiderable item in their list of "charities." And because no one missionary society makes an imperative demand, congregations lose all sense of proportion, spending hundreds of pounds on a new organ or a new scheme of lighting, and giving less than £50 annually to the Church's most important work.

Separate missionary societies to represent the views not merely of different denominations but

of different schools of thought within one Church tend to segregate Christians in the work which, of all others, should draw them together.

Interdenominational societies, on the other hand, tend to divert subscriptions that should be given to denominational ones. Convinced adherence to any Christian body is explicable, and commands respect; but in these tolerant, easy-going days, people are ready to forsake the worship of the communion in which they were reared because they prefer Mr. A.'s preaching to Mr. B.'s, and will hand to any society that makes a moving appeal gifts that are due to the missionary enterprise of their own Church.

"Is not that the society your sister is so good to?"—a question overheard in a drawing-room—neatly summed up the inveterate misconception of missionary work, that reckons societies under obligation to their subscribers: the true condition of affairs being that Christians generally are under obligation to the societies for enabling them to take a personal share in an enterprise that must be the duty of every living Church and that any member of the Church neglects to his own loss and peril.

All these criticisms apply most to small societies with a narrow basis of support and little experience behind them; private ventures of individuals who realise the difference between Christian and Christian more than they realise the common faith; whose spirit tends to be that of the self-satisfied enthusiast who called on Bishop French, of Lahore,

with the information that he was a private missionary, working on lines of his own. "How very interesting!" said that learned and large-hearted prelate; "but a 'missionary' means 'one sent.' Who sent you?" There was no answer, for, after all, St. Paul, who received from Heaven a more direct call than any other missionary, was actually sent into the field by the assembled and undivided Church. It is the un-wisdom abroad of these small societies and their impulsive representatives that often brings Missions into not wholly undeserved disrepute. It is they who are least able to put the right man in the right place, to bestow adequate training upon him, to make reasonable provision for his health and the efficient maintenance of his work. The devotion of the well-meaning people who start such enterprises would be turned to far better account if they would first ascertain what enterprises and what societies already exist that they could, if they would, work loyally with.

All these criticisms apply least to the largest societies, accredited agents of the Church in touch with its leaders. Obviously important, they attract first-rate men to their councils and have behind them a volume of instructive experience. They can turn to best account all their resources in men and money, and are most economical in administration.

And, after all, the strong faith and earnest prayer that inspire all missionary enterprise save it often, in practice, from blunders and difficulties that theoretically are formidable; and we are being led

on from what is good to what will be ideal by the growing desire not to interfere with each other, and yet to draw together in prayer and in discussion of common problems arising out of the work which is one work all over the world. One observes with mingled feelings that about eighty societies are now labouring in India and about eighty in China also; one would like to think that the number of societies will be halved when the number of "native Christians" is more than doubled, echoing Warneck's opinion: "We have enough of societies. Tactical wisdom now demands that our growing missionary power be concentrated about these agencies, and especially about the older and larger of them. Instead of the founding of new missionary societies, the endeavour should much rather be towards the union of missionary societies." ¹

From Strategy we naturally turn to Comity—that is, the arrangement by which the various societies undertake not to enter each other's fields without invitation from those already labouring there. Nearly thirty years ago the Roman Catholics—who do not of course recognise this principle—came into an S.P.G. district in Tinneveli, and some native Baptist preachers followed their lead and began re-baptizing S.P.G. converts. The S.P.G. remonstrated with both invaders, and, in marked contrast to the Roman authorities, the secretary of the B.M.S. in London at once put a stop to Baptist aggression. Over seventy years ago, when Rhenius and other C.M.S. missionaries in Tinneveli were

¹ *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 144.

persuaded by Plymouth Brethren to secede from the Church of England, the L.M.S. declined to accept the proposal to enter a much troubled C.M.S. field. It is fair to add that in China, according to Bishop Cassels, the situation with Rome is improving—nothing could be warmer than the tribute paid to Robert Stewart by Mgr. Reynaud lately; and that Dr. Weitbrecht in the Punjab has come upon instances of mutual consideration and good-will among “free lance” missions, such as those of the Plymouth Brethren.

Comity in action was seen when the L.M.S. handed over their work in Madagascar to the Paris Evangelical Society, and when the Baptists transferred their Cameroon mission to the Lutheran Basel Society; and the principle of comity has been greatly strengthened through the resolutions passed by the missionaries of all societies assembled in Conference at Madras in 1902 and at Shanghai in 1907.

The reflex action of this principle on the Church at home is a beautiful exemplification of the words of our Lord Jesus which we ought to remember: “It is more blessed to give than to receive.” Christians have verily thought within themselves that they did well to stand aloof from each other, and to condemn fellow Christians whose interpretation of the faith differed from their own more strenuously than they condemned the heathen. But a hundred years of missionary enterprise has taught us the following lessons. (1) Evangelistic zeal must always be the mark of the true Church. (2) It is manifest in churches differing

widely in practice and even in doctrine. (3) Differences which loom large at home seem trivial when a handful of Christians, inspired by common zeal to win souls, stand face to face with an overwhelming majority of heathen. (4) While we are well advised in giving our personal support to the missionary effort of our own branch of the Church, we miss much teaching and much uplifting if we limit our knowledge of Missions to that effort. It is good to be recalled to those essentials of the Faith that all Christians hold in common, by reading how the "advanced Anglican" Albert Maclaren took the Communion with his Congregationalist fellow missionaries; how the staunch Presbyterian John Paton was helped and comforted at his young wife's open grave by the episcopal benediction of John Coleridge Patteson.

Whatever our own communion is, we are humbled when we recall its past apathy about Missions; whatever our theoretical disapproval of the teaching of another communion, we have only to name its missionaries to realise that it has produced true men of God. And so it is good for Protestants to know how much Roman Catholics have done; for Anglicans to know how much Nonconformists have done; for Britons to know how much Americans have done; and for all to be stirred up to emulation by seeing how evenly distributed among different churches and denominations the honours of the great enterprise actually are.

The oldest society and the largest society are Anglican, and it is one of these two that has the

largest number of missionaries of any society in India and also in Africa, and the largest number of unmarried women missionaries and of native adherents. The society that stands first in China, and second in size among British societies, was founded by Hudson Taylor, who, like William Carey, the father of modern missions, was a Baptist ; and one cannot name two greater names on the mission roll than these two. In Japan, Presbyterian Christians stand first numerically, then Congregationalist ; and Presbyterians are foremost in educational work in India. Moreover, the pioneer C.M.S. missionary in Uganda, Alexander Mackay, was the son of a Presbyterian manse ; the Anglican U.M.C.A. was started by David Livingstone, a Presbyterian missionary of the L.M.S. ; and William Elmslie, pioneer missionary in Kashmir and first medical missionary of the C.M.S., was likewise a Presbyterian by upbringing. Before the United Presbyterians coalesced with the Free Church to form the United Free Church, their Church stood second only to the Moravian Church in sending out the largest number of missionaries in proportion to the number of its communicants ; and while its membership at home was half that of the Free Church, it had thrice as many converts in the field. Both in China and in the South Seas the Congregationalist L.M.S. was the pioneer society ; the Wesleyans have probably had the largest share in winning the largest coloured Christian community in the world, the American negroes ; theirs also was the notable conquest of Fiji ; while the American Episcopal Methodists

stand second only to C.M.S. in India, the American Baptists coming third.

With which we pass from interdenominational to international "provoking of one another to good works." The first Protestant Christian congregation in India was gathered by the Dutch ; the first effective Protestant missionary work there was done by Germans sent from Denmark ; of the first hundred missionaries sent out by the C.M.S., half were Germans ; and Würtemberg has produced more missionaries than any other Continental State. No Moslem mission-field is more successfully worked to-day than the East Indian Archipelago, where the Dutch and some German Rhenish missionaries are labouring. These six notable L.M.S. men, Robert Morrison, Robert Moffat, David Livingstone, James Gilmour, James Chalmers, and John Mackenzie, were all Scots by descent.

The Bishop of St. Albans, acknowledged to be the expert on Missions of the Anglican Bench, says that if the present proportion continues, India will owe its Christianity more to America than to Great Britain. It is estimated that from 80 per cent. to 85 per cent. of the total Protestant contribution to missions comes from Great Britain and the United States. According to Warneck's figures, Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, and Protestant France all together contribute less than the annual income of the largest of our English missionary societies ; but the growth of colonies overseas has lately quickened missionary zeal both in Germany and in France, both among Romans and among Protestants.

Passing to more personal instances, recent revival of spiritual life in the South African Dutch Church, leading to awakened desire for the evangelisation of the natives, is attributable to Dr. Andrew Murray and other Scots having lately joined its ministry ; Jani Alli, won from Islam at Masulipatam by Robert Noble, influenced a friend who was with him later on at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, H. P. Parker, to offer to the C.M.S., and he, after valuable work in Japan, became Bishop Hannington's successor in Africa ; in 1893 another brilliant Cambridge scholar, George Pilkington, who gave Uganda her vernacular Bible, read a tract written by the Tamil evangelist David, and that led to a wonderful quickening of spiritual life among missionaries and converts alike in Mengo and the country round.

" Is it a hope too unreasonable to be entertained that the power which will heal the divisions of the Church at home may come from the distant mission-field ? " Bishop Selwyn, of New Zealand and Lichfield, asked this question tentatively nearly half a century ago ; and later on Bishop Westcott, of Durham, who gave four sons to missionary work in India, said that reunion would begin at the circumference rather than at the centre. We saw how Christendom was compelled to stand shoulder to shoulder on the defensive against the Moslem menace, and how it fell to pieces when that menace was removed. Now face to face once more with the non-Christian world, and this time on the offensive, it is constrained to close its ranks ; to take less account of privileges and preferences,

and more account of duties and responsibilities ; to realise that, after all, the points on which Christians agree are more numerous and more important than those on which they differ. " You converted the heathen, and now the heathen convert you," says Mr. Kanzo Uchimura¹ ; and indeed it is time we were converted not only from our paltry selfishness and our criminal apathy, but from our narrow parochialism and party bitterness. Prejudices have been nursed and aloofness has been encouraged as a religious duty ; and from generation to generation barriers have grown higher. Even the present inadequate obedience to the Last Command brings incalculable blessing in a rising tide of enthusiasm that promises to submerge them altogether.

For we have travelled far since the days when a Scottish Synod objected to " the lowering of denominational testimony by promiscuous association in mission work." Driven back on the vital truths in our warfare with heathendom, brought together by a common aim in which each Christian's aspiration and effort rises to its highest, seeing our religion as it presents itself to those who are detached from the historic origins of our differences, our vision is widened and our affections are warmed ; our controversies present themselves in a new perspective ; we begin to foresee that some of them may appear as obsolete and meaningless to the Christians of the future as some of the controversies of the Early Church appear to us now. For like

¹ *How I became a Christian.*

the private quarrels of our ancestors when the king went forth to war, the strife between Christian and Christian at home must be deferred *sine die*, as the forces of the Cross are summoned to the mighty conflict against the Trident, the Wheel, and the Crescent. "We believe," writes the Bishop of Manchester, "that the urgency of the work immediately before us, and the power of the guiding Spirit of God, will bring about results which human sagacity would have declared to be impossible. Room will be found, because for God's sake it must be found, for common action without surrender of conscientious principle." Bishop Montgomery, when first moot-ing the idea of the Pan-Anglican Congress, put it picturesquely thus: "We must all agree to wear khaki when we go to the front together."

In drawing all men to Himself, Christ is also drawing all men to each other; and as a glorious Vision of Unity dawns on us from the mission-field, we may well thank God and take courage.

CHAPTER VI

THE CALL

“Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,

In the strife of Truth and Falsehood, for the good or evil side.”

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

HAVING taken account of the Field, reached and unreached, changed and changing, having estimated the opposing forces, and seen the need of a plan of campaign and the relations of the different corps of the Church Militant to each other, we must proceed to consider the practical import of the Expansion of Christendom for the Church and for the individual Christian. We have to translate into a great Call to the Church the present great Crisis for the World ; its passing opportunity into our urgent responsibility ; heathendom's deep need into our bounden duty.

“Be sure your sin will find you out,” has often been quoted as a warning to sinners in general. Moses, however, was not referring, when he said this, to any overt transgression ; he apprehended that those who had already conquered their own inheritance would settle down to enjoy it, instead of mustering

their forces to help in subduing the Land that had yet to be possessed by their brethren. This is a sin that has found out many nations and churches ; again and again we have seen the kingdom of heaven taken from those who by their disobedience to Christ's standing orders virtually repudiated His claim and missed the blessing that might have been theirs.

The call that once came to them comes to us to-day ; it is addressed to the whole Church ; each individual member of the Church is answerable for hearing it ; the duty of acting upon it demands the co-operation of all Christians everywhere. No man may dare to say, " God's work will not be done unless I help to do it " ; but the work God has laid on His Church will either be accomplished to its unspeakable blessedness or neglected to its irreparable loss as each of its members is or is not imbued with a compelling sense of personal responsibility.

" You English believe so much and do so little," said the Chinaman, and too often the reproach has been merited. The Church is cumbered, not strengthened, by those " verandah men " (as they are called in Australia) whose contribution to its work consists of remarking in their superior wisdom to the workers, " Why don't you do your work in some other way ? " while they themselves attempt nothing. " I suppose you have come for what you can get, like all the rest," was the encouraging reception a missionary deputation lately met with from him whose pulpit he had been

invited to occupy ; while round the agents or officials of the societies constantly flutter amiable people saying sweetly, " I am so interested in your work." Rude speech and pleasant speech alike give utterance to a fundamentally wrong idea. It is not *your* work, the missionary's work, or the society's work, but *our* work. " It is to be done, not vaguely by *us*, but precisely by *me*. My Saviour claims my service, as I claim the service of my hand or my foot."¹ The real need nowadays is that progress at home should become adequate to progress abroad. For it is one work, whether we tarry by the stuff or go down to the battle, and we are realising our fellowship in it more and more.

As encouraging signs of progress at home, let us take the recent statistics of the largest missionary society, and of that great movement in colleges all over the world which is doing more than any other agency to send men and women of the finest type into the field, and incidentally to promote reunion of Christendom, not through nebulous " undenominationalism " or reckless concessions, but through sympathy in essentials and practical co-operation.

In the last fifty years the European missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have increased from 239 to 998, or reckoning wives, 1,384 (more than fourfold), native workers from 2,120 to 9,914 (nearly fivefold), schools and colleges from 754 to 2,626 (more than threefold), and income from £146,000 to over £400,000 (nearly threefold).

¹ Bishop of Durham at the Manchester Church Congress, October 1908.

Forty-five years ago it had no medical missionaries—now it has over 80 doctors on its staff; twenty-two years ago it had about 20 single women missionaries—now it has over 400, of whom about 40 are graduates of British universities.

The Student Volunteer Missionary Union in Britain has received between three and four thousand signatures to the Declaration of desire to serve as a missionary, and some 1,400 of these candidates have now sailed; one quarter of them being women. Over a third of the British candidates are Anglican, another third Methodist, Congregationalist and Baptist, and nearly a fourth Presbyterian. At the slack end of the Michaelmas term of 1908 more than a third of all the undergraduates at Cambridge attended Mr. Mott's meetings, and he said he had never seen so marked a movement of the Holy Spirit at the University.

Another encouraging sign is the greatly improved tone of the daily press, and the growing prominence it gives to missionary events.

Missionary Congresses have had no small share in rousing general interest. The earliest was one which met at New York in 1854, for which Alexander Duff prepared questions to be considered. In 1860 a Conference of 120 delegates, representing 25 societies, was held at Liverpool; followed by a still larger one in 1878, at the Mildmay Conference Hall in London, which included American and Continental delegates. The Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions in London in 1888 was a much greater gathering, attended by 1,600 members

from 53 societies—British, American and Continental. Still more widely representative and influential was the Ecumenical Missionary Conference at New York in 1900, attended by 2,500 delegates connected with more than 250 societies. Then came the centenary celebrations of the great societies, especially those of the C.M.S. in 1899 and of the Bible Society in 1904, and the Bicentenary of the S.P.G. in 1901; the World's Student Christian Federation Conference in Tokio in 1907, attended by 627 delegates from 25 countries, the first international Conference ever held in Asia; the Pan-Anglican Congress in London in 1908, attended by nearly 10,000 members of the Anglican Communion from all parts of the world, and dominated by a fervent missionary spirit; the Canadian National Missionary Congress in Toronto in March 1909, the first example of Missions being dealt with by the Christians of a single nation acting in a national capacity. Edinburgh is anticipating a World Missionary Conference in June 1910, to be attended by delegates appointed by almost all the societies, "to subject the plan and methods of the whole missionary enterprise to searching investigation, and to co-ordinate missionary experience from all parts of the world." No student of church history can hear unmoved that the World's Student Christian Federation is contemplating Constantinople as the scene of its biennial Conference in 1911.

But though such imposing gatherings set the general public talking for a while, the world remains hostile and indifferent; those who are not on Christ's

side do not wish His cause to succeed, and the wish being as usual father to the thought, do not believe that it will succeed. The jaded appetite of the readers of many magazines will still be supplied with highly spiced articles about the "failure of missions"; and as he reads them the worldling will still smile his sarcastic smile of scorn at pious enthusiasm. Our main concern, after all, is with the less intelligent and somewhat half-hearted subscriber to some missionary society who reads these lucubrations with uneasy suspicion that his guinea is wasted; conversion of the professing Christian to Missions must be our first aim. Religious leaders speak out with no uncertain voice: "Foreign missions are the work that at the present time stands in the front rank of all the tasks we have to fulfil," was the pronouncement of the Lambeth Conference of 1897; and the Pan-Anglican Congress and Lambeth Conference of 1908, in both of which the call sounded louder than ever before, are followed by a pressing appeal from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to all church-people as such to make missionary effort "an essential element in the corporate life of the Church."

There are four different ways in which the missionary-hearted at home can work towards doing this, and at the same time towards strengthening the hands of those who are labouring abroad. Christians must *pray* for missions, must *give* to missions, must *go* out as missionaries; but before any of these things can be done rightly and adequately, they must *know* about missions.

The cause needs nothing more than it needs a largely increased number of educated adherents ; for a Church informed will very soon become a Church transformed. The flame of fervour must be fed continuously with the solid fuel of facts that it may burn and glow steadily ; for if we only throw the straw of passing emotion on it, the blaze will quickly die away. Indifference in the rank and file of church members, which is really a more serious hindrance than the hostility of the world, can only give place to interest, interest to enthusiasm, and enthusiasm to enduring, reasoned zeal, through ordered knowledge of what the missionaries have done and are now trying to do. Reluctant silver wrung by mere importunity from ignorant and therefore apathetic people is not good enough, and will never be sufficient for the inevitable extension of the work ; but those who have added knowledge of Missions to a general faith in Missions will say no longer, "I suppose I must give something," but will gladly and spontaneously lay their gold on the altar, exclaiming, "I cannot miss the privilege of a personal share in the work." How obvious all that is, and yet it has only been taken to heart and acted upon systematically within the last two decades.

Simultaneously, and in quite different places, the idea of missionary study "caught on." For over twenty years the S.V.M.U. has had study circles in many colleges, with substantial results in calling out the 3,300 volunteers mentioned on page 316. Nearly twenty years ago a library was formed

in connexion with the C.M.S. Gleaners' Union, which Mr. and Mrs. Charles Flint subsequently developed into what may well be called the "Missionary Mudie," a circulating library of missionary literature in the amplest sense of that term, which is now housed at 18 Salisbury Square, E.C. It is the basis of the C.M.S. Study Scheme, organised in 1904 with far-reaching result; and quickly followed by the Association for Missionary Study of the S.P.G. Other societies, notably the L.M.S. and Presbyterians generally, have taken up the idea, and all over the country Study Circles grow in number and zeal. Across the Atlantic, in 1901, Mr. Fletcher Brockman, of the United States, and Dr. F. C. Stevenson, of Canada, founded the Young People's Missionary Movement, with its Forward Mission Study Courses, developed by Mr. Earl Taylor, and inspired by Dr. Cuthbert Hall's dictum, "We must not condemn the young to a life of provincialism in an age of catholicity." The Methodist Episcopal Church has been foremost in this scheme, and with their usual indomitable energy our American kinsfolk have organised on a very large scale; admirable textbooks are written by experts, and thousands of young people are banded together to study missions as a subject of entrancing intellectual interest as well as spiritual profit. British schemes, notably that of the C.M.S., work in one respect on a sounder principle, for missionary study of Holy Scripture has the foremost place on their programmes. A new generation grows up better educated in missions than any previous one,

and already results are seen. "I am greatly struck," says Miss Amy Bosanquet (C.M.S., Hiroshima), "with the difference between my two audiences at the Girls' Missionary Conferences at Holloway College in 1901 and in 1906; the last was mentally alive and keenly intelligent as the first was not."

Is it wonderful that students who set out with the deliberate intention of knowing something about all missions and all about one mission should find the subject fascinating, and mentally as well as spiritually stimulating? If we think of the antiquated problems, such as "Who was the Man with the Iron Mask?" of the moth-eaten gossip about dead-and-gone notorieties, that is served up to the libraries by publishers as interesting new literature; if we think of the barren ecclesiastical and political controversies that are discussed and rediscussed; of the small personalities that provide conversation in default of anything better; we can imagine the uplift and cheer of turning to the newest chapters of history in the making, history fraught with happiest prospects for our race.

And then with mind enlarged and heart warmed by study, we cannot fail to turn knowledge of missions into Prayer for them. Ever since the 120 disciples met in the upper room to await the Promise of the Father, missionary enterprise has been cradled in prayer. Prayer, hearty and persevering, was the origin of modern missions, as we are reminded by the names of Comenius, Francke, and Harms; by the Scottish "concert to promote

prayer " in 1744 ; by the monthly united intercession among the Nottingham Baptist ministers in 1784.¹

Just as the doors were opened in 1858, some American missionaries at Ludhiana in the Punjab issued an invitation to Christians everywhere to begin the year with united prayer for the Holy Spirit. Fifty-two times since has this Week of Prayer been held. The revival in Tinneveli in March 1860 was its first-fruits, and it was never more widely observed than at present, when even the secular press comments on the large hall in London crowded out at noon by men from office, bank, and counter, pausing in their day's routine to pray for the world. The Evangelical Alliance, which draws together Christians of many lands, is responsible for organising it year by year.

The period 1871-2 marked a falling-off in missionary candidates and missionary zeal, along with a growth of vehement partisanship and controversial bitterness. Then the S.P.G. petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint an annual day to be observed throughout the Anglican Communion for prayer that the Lord of the Harvest would send forth labourers. This also has been widely and devoutly kept ever since, and is now fixed for St. Andrew's Day (November 30th). The tide turned in 1872 ; more candidates in a few months came forward than had come forward for several years previously, and from that day progress has been steady, though not uniform.

¹ Dr. Geo. Smith, *Short History of Christian Missions*, p. 155.

“We can do nothing till we have prayed, but when we have prayed there is nothing that we cannot do,” says Dr. A. J. Gordon ; and we recognise with awe and wonder that the greatest force for the evangelisation of the world is prayer. “If we fail there, we fail in all ; if we succeed there, we succeed in all,” says Mr. Robert Wilder, the founder of that fecund outcome of prayer, the Student Volunteer Missionary Union.

Livingstone passed to his reward as he knelt in prayer, and what other great missionary could we name who was not great in prayer ? How else can we account for the patience and tact, the wisdom and sympathy, the irresistible power with which their most difficult work has been done ? But the missionary who at the end of his day's work was too weary to say more than “O God, hear my praying friends,” is one of many whose “strength to go forward lies in the prayers of those they leave behind.” “I often wish,” wrote Elmslie of Kashmir, “that I had half a dozen old, faithful, loving, lonely women praying for me and for my work” ; and again and again we are actually able to trace deliverance and encouragement and blessing abroad to definite intercession at home that has coincided with it. Of this the conversion of Pastor Hsi was a notable example ; and facts fully justify the expression used by a missionary from Hakodate, Miss Minna Tapson, when, on meeting friends and supporters in London, she referred to “the souls in Japan that you and I have fought for together.” It is a commonplace that the large incomes of missionary societies are

made up of multiplied small gifts of insignificant people ; but only the Last Day will reveal how large a share in the world's evangelisation is attributable to the secret prayer of those whose lives seemed quite without influence on their generation. " A Christian," said Henri Perreyve, " is a man to whom Jesus Christ entrusts all his fellow-men."

Passing to Giving in the more conventional sense, Warneck's figures indicate that Continental Protestants give less than half of what Americans give, and Americans about half of what Britons give. But the total British contributions are only one-eighty-fourth of our annual Drink Bill. When shall we get beyond the stage of giving what we can spare, a wholly unworthy offering to God ? When shall we reach the stage of forgoing, in response to the call, not merely superfluities of daily life, but spiritual luxuries also ? of volunteering such efficient lay help to the vicar that he can part with one of his curates ? of being satisfied with fewer services in a less beautiful church ? of discovering that the parish church is good enough as well as large enough for all, instead of keeping up another place of worship that is more in accordance with our own views ? Self-denial in an age which has reached a " standard of comfort " demanding all sorts of unnecessary gratifications is the only way in which we can rise to our responsibilities. There are in London alone (according to Baedeker) 700 Anglican and 800 other places of worship, all supplied with preachers but not all filled with worshippers.

What if the best half of these preachers were transported to Asia and Africa? Would not present loss mean ultimate gain? Many Churches have suffered because they never looked beyond their own needs; no Church has ever really suffered from going without to supply the needs of others. For instance, a good many men are now serving in the home ministry who would never have taken orders had they not been led through the S.V.M.U. to offer for service abroad. The doctors barred the way thither, but the Church gained not merely men, but men of the type most needed to shepherd the home flock.

So we reach the fourth appeal of the Church at the front to the Church at the base, that for Men. Napoleon said that the secret of victory is to bring up the reserves when the struggle is at its crisis. Knowing, Praying, Giving will for not a few eventuate in Going, Giving of Substance in Giving of Self. It is well said that the candidate is the fruit of the home Church, the measure of its apprehension of its calling; just as the missionary is the seed of the Church abroad; and each sets up a standard by which Christ Himself will be judged among men. After a hundred years there are only fifteen missionaries, men and women, for every million of the widely scattered non-Christians, which is as if eighty or ninety men and women tried to supply all the spiritual needs of Canada.

And we must remember that the work demands a high degree of qualification, physical, intel-

lectual, and spiritual ; that it is better to leave a post unmanned than to send an inefficient man to it. Pleading for China, Dr. Timothy Richard asks why a Universities' Mission should have been founded not for the most civilised non-Christian nation, but for the least civilised races ; but Prof. Wilson Naylor, pleading for Africa,¹ assures us that the task of grappling with unwritten tongues demands the very best education in missionaries. Bishop Smythies, of the U.M.C.A., expressed the same view strongly. Certainly the fields that need missionaries most to-day are also the fields that demand the highest type of missionary.

Work of all sorts is indeed waiting to be done, and many kinds of power besides the power that comes of a first-rate education can be used. Columba was a prince and Kentigern the son of a princess ; Boniface and Bishop Patteson came of old and honourable Devonshire families ; Ion Keith-Falconer was a peer's son and a Cambridge professor ; other first-rate scholars were Raimund Lully, Henry Martyn, Bishop French, Dr. Pfander, and Imad-ud-din, who all went, like Keith-Falconer, to Moslems ; also George Pilkington of Uganda, Edkins, Legge, Griffith John of China, and Nehemiah Nilakantha Goreh of Benares, with many other well-equipped university men. But Peter Greig, the first martyr-missionary of the modern era, was a gardener, and so was Robert Moffat ; Robert Morrison was a maker of shoe-lasts, and William Elmslie a boot-finisher ; John Williams, the martyr

¹ *Daybreak in the Dark Continent*, p. 243.

of Erromango, was an ironmonger's apprentice, and William Carey a village shoemaker; John Wilkinson, of the Mildmay Mission to the Jews, and George Brown, of the South Seas, were both drapers' salesmen; W. G. Lawes was also a shop-assistant; Livingstone was a weaver; John Paton and James Chalmers were both sons of peasants; and Samuel Crowther, like Patrick and Ulfilas in earlier days, had been a slave. And what efficient and splendid work all these men did!

The work calls for the best; it has had the best again and again; but how many more of the best it needs urgently in this day of great opportunity! Is it not deplorable to see a hero like Douglas Thornton of Cairo, whose life is invaluable, dying prematurely at his post because reinforcements do not come; to see unoccupied fields threatened with one of the various alternatives to evangelisation already enumerated? While the grandest work in the world appeals in vain for sufficient workers, men qualified to do it are at home occupied with business that need not be done or that others are equally ready and willing to do. Christian parents are giving their capable sons and daughters every possible advantage at school and college, and then finding no better destiny for them than putting them into callings that will enable persons having enough to live on in any case to make more than enough to live on. "Not in the sunshine at home, but in the darkness abroad, let my lamp of life burn out."

Some who might go, stay at home, waiting, they

say, for a call. Perhaps the call has come, but they have not had ears to hear it. Simply through the daily recitation of the General Thanksgiving in Caius College, Cambridge, it came to Charles Mackenzie (1825-62), afterwards the first missionary bishop sent forth by the Church of England.

Candidates lately offering to one of our leading missionary societies wrote the following answers to the question, "Has the missionary call come to you?" They may well be pondered as representing the prayer and experience of those who are actually giving up themselves to God's service and showing forth His praise in their lives. The writer of the last was living a full, useful life at home, and paying £100 a year for a missionary in the field as her substitute.

1. "There is no need for a call; there is a command."

2. "A need, a need known, and ability to supply that need constitute a call."

3. "I must not ask, Where am I needed? but Where am I needed most?"

4. "The question for me to answer is, Why should I *not* go?"

5. "So many men who would go cannot, that those who can go ought."

6. "I seem to see Christ standing dumb among the heathen."

7. "I am not convinced that I am doing my very best for the cause by staying at home."

When they have gone, they say, "We pity *you* for having to stay at home." For what a glorious

privilege it is to be able to offer natural ability, trained capacity, single-hearted sense of duty, and a heart and will consecrated to God, in days when all these things may count for more in the service of God and man than they ever did before! To the joy and satisfaction of the work let missionaries themselves testify, as represented by two men and two women, one from each of the four greatest fields—Japan, Africa, China, and India.

Guido Fridolin Verbeck, Dutch and Italian by birth, and American by residence, who died in 1898, on whom, as a unique honour, all the privileges of a Japanese subject were conferred by the Mikado, together with the Order of the Rising Sun, in recognition of the services he had rendered to the Empire, wrote to a friend who had apparently hoped that he had become something better than a missionary, "With all this, I am only a missionary, and joyfully accept the situation."

Alex. Mackay, pioneer in Uganda, who died in 1890, wrote: "It is no sacrifice, as some think, to come here as pioneers of Christianity and civilisation. I would not give my position here for all the world. . . . Who would not willingly engage in such noble work, and consider it the highest honour on earth to be called to it?"

Lastly, two missionaries whose joyous sweetness had made the sunshine of two happy English homes, and who laid down their young lives, one for China, one for India, stand forth as witnesses.

Elsie Marshall, martyred in the massacre of missionaries at Hwa-sang, August 1st, 1895, after nearly

five years' devoted and fruitful work in Fuh-kien, wrote: "It is so good of Jesus to give me this wonderful joy of knowing that I have been used by Him; there is no joy like it. I don't know how to praise Him enough. It is worth any amount of giving up—the joy of winning souls for His glory."¹

Irene Petrie, who, after some three years' labour in Kashmir, died at Leh in Tibet, August 6th, 1897, her brilliant gifts and winning personality having accomplished much in her lifetime, while the bright example of her career has already won many who never thought about Missions to care for them, and not a few to offer for missionary service, wrote: "If I might add a personal word, it would be just to say that missionary work has far exceeded one's highest hopes in happiness and interest. Life is indeed worth living out here, and, even if permitted to sow only a few tiny seeds, one can rejoice in the certain hope of the harvest, which may be seen only by those who come after, but for which we can trust Christ, knowing that He must reign."²

¹ *For His Sake, Letters of Elsie Marshall.*

² *Irene Petrie, Missionary to Kashmir.*

CHAPTER VII

THE OUTLOOK

“Ex oriente Lux.”

“Christ for the World : the World for Christ.”

“LOOK towards the dawn, or you will be lost in the darkness,” was the message sent by the Mikado of Japan to the Emperor of China a few years ago. We too must look out and up as we close our survey of missions in their historical aspect. For our backward gaze has often been into darkness. How much of the sap and life of Christendom has run to leaf and not to fruit ! how much of its promise has been unfulfilled ! how many of its resources have been undeveloped ! how small a proportion of the truth committed to its keeping has been comprehended ! how little of the task set before it has been achieved !

Those who reject the Faith themselves always assume that the more intelligent part of mankind reject it also ; and some unwise Christians who do not study history help to propagate that unfounded idea by groaning over the prevalent unbelief of “these dangerous days.”

“Past, and to come, seem best ; things present, worst.”

But when have the days not been dangerous ?

After all, that favourite phrase comes from the Anglican Communion Service and dates from times immediately after the Reformation, which many reckon "a golden age" of faith. As we have seen, speculative doubt, aggressive unbelief, effort to shape a new eclectic religion, practical godlessness due to preoccupation with the affairs of this life, are none of them peculiar to our own age. There may indeed be to-day less conventional acquiescence in traditional creeds whose power is not felt experimentally; for profession of unbelief no longer involves either legal penalties or political disability or even social ostracism, and therefore a higher standard of Christian life is expected than in days when wholesale and compelled profession of Christianity was esteemed a desirable thing. Accordingly, people who are irreligious at heart venture to neglect religious observances openly as they would not have done when Keble wrote :

"Even such is this bad world we see,
Which, self-condemned in owning Thee,
Yet dares not open farewell of Thee take,
For very pride, and her high-boasted Reason's sake."

We have observed in more than one community a phase of throwing off old religious beliefs and not at once finding new ones to take their place. This can only be a passing phase, for although abnormal individuals have proclaimed themselves Atheists, a community of avowed Atheists is inconceivable. No nation has ever refused to acknowledge God, save the French for one brief and hideous

moment of the Revolution. In its original Agnostic form, Buddhism utterly failed in India; when adopted by the Chinese and Japanese, it developed into an elaborate system of Polytheism. Both facts testify that worship is a universal instinct.

We have also seen that Christianity is the one religion that grows stronger instead of weaker as the ages roll on, for, in spite of all the opposing forces we have reckoned with, "the constitution of human nature is everywhere on the side of the Gospel."¹

Moreover, we are only on the threshold, are only beginning to realise the potentialities of Christianity. Jewish, Greek, Roman, Mediæval, Reformation Christianity, each was an advance on its predecessor; the average Christian of to-day has a better understanding of what Christ came to do and of what following Christ involves than the average Christian of any preceding century; as those know well who read old Christian writings, and compare, not the immortal books, but the ordinary Christian literature of the past with that of the present. But so far, each Christian age has only appropriated a portion of the truth to be learnt from Holy Scripture under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, has only seen the Faith extended over a very limited portion of the earth. Clearer insight into the Faith itself, as well as wider diffusion of it, will come as the Church carries out its marching orders.

We shall perceive not different national religions, but differing national types of the one religion,

¹ Haigh, *Leading Ideas of Hinduism*.

which is too profound to be fathomed by any human intellect, though it may be believed unto salvation by the little child. "The missionary," says Neander, "requires especially the spirit of Christian freedom that he may not obstruct the work of God in the soul by human alloy, or prevent Christ, whose organ alone he ought to be, from obtaining in every nation that peculiar form which is exactly suitable to each one." We must Christianise, but not Anglicise: that is why all national customs that are innocent are encouraged, even in such a low social stage as that of Papua; why Bishop Smythies permitted no European clothing in the U.M.C.A. schools in East Africa; why C.M.S. missionaries are urged not to yield to the West African's keen desire to receive a European name at baptism; why worshippers are allowed to remove their shoes, not their turbans, in India; why missionaries don native dress under some circumstances in China; why in weightier things, symbolised by these externals, all native usages not contrary to divine law are to be retained. For Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil, all that was truly noble in the faith and practice of each nation, and His religion cannot be a foreign religion to any nation. Professor Nakamura Keiu uses this simile in the preface to a book of Christian Evidences: "As the sun may be called the sun of Japan when it shines on Japan, so Christianity may be called Japanese Christianity when Japan's children are enlightened by Christ." What we seek for China and India and Japan now is not the same

religious experiences as ours, but experience of the same Christ. He is dawning on the East now as He dawned on the West long ago, and each fresh race will provide a fresh mirror in which He may be reflected as He illuminates its life.

“*Manet immota fides*,” but each nation receives the one unchanging faith in its own way, and brings its “peculiar honour” to Christ, Christianity being a germ of new life developing from within, not a dogma or cult imposed from without. As Greek power of thought gave definite form to Christian theology; as Roman instinct for law and order and subordination of private to public interest lived on in the Latin Church; as our own ancestors’ unripe ideal of ordered freedom, pure family life, and reverence for womanhood developed and persisted when they learnt of Christ—so the wealth of the nations is still gathered into the Church. “The beauty of Christianity is that it can sanctify all the peculiar traits which God gave to each nation: we do not give up our highest ideals; we become more like them,” says Mr. Kanzo Uchimura, of Japan. We restless, self-centred, hard and impatient Westerners shall see fully exemplified parts of our Lord’s teaching which we enter into very imperfectly when Christianity becomes world-wide; when the African brings into the kingdom his awe of the Unseen, his intense realisation of a personal God, his unquestioning trust and obedience and warm affections; when the Indian brings his deeply religious spirit and capacity for worship, his reverence and dignity and patience and resignation;

when the Chinese brings his cheerful, dogged industry, his strong sense of family obligation and authority, his peculiar capacity for apprehending the brotherhood of men through the Fatherhood of God ; when the Japanese brings his joyous and gentle courtesy, his ardent patriotism, his self-sacrificing loyalty and subordination of individual advantage to the common good, his readiness to measure men by their worth, not their wealth ; when the Moslem brings his burning zeal and inflexible will, his whole-hearted belief that God is, and that He gave man a revelation.

If it is inspiring to realise that our lot as citizens is cast, not in a circumscribed, ageing state, but in an empire of nascent nations, with all their future before them, it is far more inspiring to think that our lot as Christians is cast, not in the failing Church of an outworn world, but in a Church that is renewing its strength and growing into fuller truth and higher life in a world that is still young.

Three inextricably interwoven responsibilities rest upon that Church : to keep the white man Christian, lest, far removed from the means of grace in the back blocks of New Zealand, the bush of Australia, the veldt of South Africa, the remote prairie of Canada, he learn to do without God ; to make the pagan barbarian Christian, and at the same time to civilise him ; and also to make Christian the civilised heathen and Moslem peoples whose ancestral religions are conspicuously failing them in this their day of awakening and inevitable change. We make known to them, as the One to whom we owe

all that we have, and all that we are, both nationally and individually, the Christ who is able to cleanse and renew their life as He has cleansed and renewed ours ; the Christ—

“ Whose soldiers now, under whose blessed Cross
We are impressèd and engaged to fight.”

Some may understand the age we live in so little as to cry out for the lost enthusiasms and causes and ideals of the past. But if only we will climb high enough to behold it, such a glorious vision of the Christendom which is to be will break upon us that we shall exclaim, Surely no previous generation had so great a cause, so lofty an ideal, so impelling an enthusiasm ! To us is entrusted a task that angels might desire to fulfil ; we may well pity our fathers who did not see the great things that we see ; we may well envy our children who will see yet greater things ; we cannot but be thrilled with humble thankfulness that we are on the winning side in the very crisis of the most magnificent fight ever fought ; we are constrained to pray that we may have grace to rise to the whole height of our privilege in living to see these glorious days.

God is working His purpose out to sum up all things in Christ. His purpose must be fulfilled, therefore Missions cannot be a *mistake*. God's power is with those whom He deigns to make His fellow-workers in carrying out that purpose, therefore Missions cannot be a *failure*. The Case for Missions rests firmly on His purpose for mankind ; the Course of Missions, victorious in His power,

brings a Crisis of Missions whose outcome must be to His praise. There is no doubt as to the final issue—to Him every knee shall bow. And yet as we look into the future, doubt and uncertainty call us all to confession and supplication, not to exultation. Are we English-speaking Christians of this generation going to use the marvellous opportunity God gives us? Or will the unquenchable Divine Light be removed once again from a dishonoured candlestick, and will some far-off Church, now in the making, achieve the task of evangelising the world, so fulfilling its end and God's will, so hastening the return of Him who is the Desire of all nations?

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